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ABSTRACT

The basic hypothesis of this study is that language education could be more effective if planning were to aim at developing an individual functional trilingualism involving a first (indigenous) language, a second African (national) language, and an official (foreign) language. The study covers the following matters: (1) a survey of developments in language education policy in several African countries and a summary of similarities noted in the various reports on language education reforms; (2) a discussion of these reforms within the framework of the overall national language-planning efforts; (3) social factors influencing the emergence of a model for language education planning, and an outline of a trilingual model along with theoretical arguments and underlying principles; (4) a discussion of the functional apsect of the model, including examples of functional second language programs; (5) the significance of the trilingual model for postsecondary education and adult literacy in Africa; (6) economic considerations for the implementation of the model; and (7) an application of the suggested model to Cameroon. Included in the summary are recommendations for further research in African countries. (AMH)

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A MODEL FOR FUNCTIONAL TRILINGUAL EDUCATION PLANNING IN AFRICA

By Dr. Maurice TADADJEU
Specialist in Linguistics

Unesco, Paris

Division of Structures, Content, Methods and Techniques of Education

Note : The views expressed are those of the author and do not necessarily represent the views of Unesco.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Statement of the Problem

This study attempts to present a comprehensive model for multilingual education planning in Africa, especially at the primary school level. Language education in Africa has four major components : literacy, national language[1] education, mother tongue education, and official (foreign) language teaching. Although emphasis is often placed on one or two of them, all four are interrelated. During the last two decades, major efforts have been made to develop each of them country by country.

As regards literacy, available linguistic knowledge has been used to devise and/or revise the necessary writing systems for some indigenous languages. However, at the present time, the general rate of illiteracy is still above 70 per cent for the adult population. Two major problems are obstacles to adult literacy efforts : the costs associated with the production of follow-up reading materials in many languages, and the more subtle sociopsychological difficulty of developing what (1972a)[2] terms "a literate environment" in which the use of literacy skills is highly valued and stimulated on a daily basis.

Turning to national languages, some countries have difficulty in selecting them. While national language teaching is quite advanced in Algeria, Botswana and

---

1) The term national language is used to denote any indigenous language which has been officially promulgated by a government as a means of national communication and/or a medium of expression and transmission of national culture (see section 2.1.).

2) A bibliographical reference is indicated in the main text by the author's name followed by the date of publication. The latter may, in turn, be followed by page reference, or a lettered serial reference if more than one publication of the same author, published in the same year, is cited. A full bibliography is given at the end of the study.

Tanzania, it is still in the beginning stages in Senegal and Togo. The difficulty is that the choice of a certain language automatically means the neglect in the development of others and the implication that the speakers of the neglected indigenous languages may be culturally assimilated to the linguistic community whose language is chosen as the national one. A cultural or ethnic conflict may then develop between the two communities.

As for mother tongue education, it has been the focus of heated debate, especially in the primary schools. Although in many countries, mother tongue education is partially motivated by psychological and pedagogical considerations, in Africa it is also motivated by the elite's nostalgia and search for cultural identity. However, a major obstacle is the economic impossibility of producing primary school textbooks in all the existing mother tongues for all the subjects taught.

Regarding the teaching of official languages most of which are, at least currently, foreign languages, the problem is simpler. The basic concern is with the development and distribution of the necessary materials for teaching them and the training and the necessary teaching personnel.

The above four components are intrinsically related. Mass literacy can be effectively carried out primarily in mother tongues and, similarly, used for early primary education. Thus, the type of language links them both. The multiplicity of mother tongues has necessitated the development of one or a few indigenous languages as national languages. This requires non-native speakers to learn them as second African languages. Most official languages are increasingly taught as foreign or second languages.

Although these four components have been studied, attempts to develop a comprehensive model for their practical planning and development have been limited because of the complexity of the African language situation. There are at least

four possible alternative comprehensive models based on the number of media of instruction : a monolingual, a bilingual, a trilingual and a quadrilingual model. The monolingual alternative is precluded by the multiplicity of mother tongues, national languages and official languages. The quadrilingual alternative seems highly complicated and lacks empirical supportive data. Thus, the bilingual and trilingual alternatives appear to be the most interesting.

Certain countries have adopted a bilingual model, but many others remain undecided because of its limitations. Even in countries with bilingual education, actual instances of three alternating media of instruction may predominate, especially at the primary level. These indicate a possible trilingual model as a more comprehensive alternative. The present study attempts to examine and to construct such a model.

1.2. Statement of the Hypothesis to be developed

The study's basic hypothesis is that language education could be more effective if planning aims at developing an individual functional trilingualism involving a first (indigenous) language, a second African (national) language and an official (foreign) language.

This study defines a first language (L1) from a socio and psycholinguistic point of view as a mother tongue, a home language (e.g., spoken at home by parents with different mother tongues, and acquired by children), or a (peer group) language that a child acquires by the age of eight. A second African language is defined for minority groups as an officially recognized national or provincial language, and defined for the native speakers of these as either a different national or provincial language or a minority language. In the expression functional trilingualism, functional refers to those predominant social functions that each language serves in a given country, province, division, or district. The language skills to be

developed in each of the three specified languages would be based on those social functions. In a formal educational system, this can be done by teaching the subjects related to the social functions of each language through the medium of the language.

1.3. Methodology

This study is a systematic search for an adequate, effective and acceptable solution to a multilingual problem. The basic method involves analyzing the data available in the literature on language education practices in Africa, plus the supplementary information gathered by the investigator. Thus, a wide range of literature on the African language situation, on language education and on language planning is covered. Also, current research in language acquisition, second and foreign language learning and teaching, bilingual and trilingual education, and adult literacy are discussed to identify reliable and practical ways of validating the trilingual model suggested for both the formal and nonformal components of language education. Finally, an attempt is made to formulate ways of developing, coordinating and effectively utilizing the available resources.

1.4. Outline of the study

Following this introductory chapter, the second chapter focuses on the language situation and on language education reforms. Chapter III discusses these reforms within the framework of the overall national language-planning efforts. Hence, an attempt is made to define both language planning and its educational implications and national exigencies.

Chapter IV deals with the social factors influencing the emergence of a model for language education planning, i.e. a triglossic pattern of societal language use, language education practices and policies, and the implications of all these for multilingual-multicultural education planning. An emerging trilingual model is outlined along with theoretical arguments and some underlying principles.

Chapter V discusses the functional aspect of the model. An attempt is made to clarify such notions as language educatien, language as a subject of instruction, and first language education, and to show the limitations of grammars in L1 education. Then it is demonstrated how these can serve as bases for effective validation of the proposed trilingual model. Examples of functional second language (L2) programmes are presented to suggest possible L2 and L3 programmes.

Chapter VI demonstrates how the proposed model provides a framework both for developing more efficient L2 and L3 (or more) programmes at the secondary and possibly the higher levels of education and for the development of the type of large-scale literacy projects most needed in Africa.

Chapter VII discusses the economic considerations necessary for the implementation of the model with regard to the overall development of language industry in Africa. The principle of common language education resource development is considered within the scope of regional economic cooperation. Finally, the cost-minimizing factors that could facilitate the implementation of trilingual education are identified.

Chapter VIII attempts to indicate how the suggested trilingual model could be applied in Cameroon. Thus, a detailed presentation of the country's current language education patterns is provided. Then, ways of adapting the model for application both at the national level and at two specific provincial levels are examined.

Finally, a summary and general conclusions are presented. These include recommendations for further research in specific African countries.

CHAPTER II

DEVELOPMENTS IN CONTEMPORARY LANGUAGE EDUCATION IN AFRICA

2.1. Developments in Language Education Policies

In most African countries, language planning is a growing concern because of the multiplicity and diversity of the languages. The complexity of the problems has prompted many linguists, organizations, and communities to seek practical solutions, in accordance with the cultural, educational, economic, political and social evolution of specific countries.

Every independent African country has to deal with some preindependence language legacy. Preindependence language legacy derives from the imposition of a colonial language on the indigenous language environment under circumstances involving both geographic division of the area unrelated to indigenous cultural and linguistic conditions and educational policies generally disadvantageous to the indigenous populations. Spencer (1971) presents two general preindependence bases underlying the post-independence language policies ; namely, those of French and British colonial governments. (The German and Belgian policies were essentially the same as the British). Only the major linguistic difference between these two policies will be mentioned here. Basically, the British Indirect Rule allowed the use of indigenous languages in the first years of primary schools with a switch to English at the upper level of primary school and continuing through the secondary school and the university. On the other hand, the French Assimilation Policy did not allow the use of indigenous languages, except for missionary schools.

The two different policies produced almost the same result in the determination of official languages of the independent African countries, except for Cameroon. English became the first official language of most former British territories and French played a similar role in former French territories. In Cameroon, both French

and English were adopted as official languages after independence in 1960 and reunification in 1961.

However, these were formal policies as distinct from the informal policies and practices of the missionaries. Welmers (1971b) has shown that, although the missionaries claimed not to have their own language policy, they had one for religious purposes, namely, the development of indigenous language programmes for spiritual goals. Consequently, they taught indigenous languages in their primary schools. Wherever it was possible to use a language such as pidgin English for religious purposes, they did so. They encouraged the development of lingua francas. Thus, if one indigenous language, served as a common language for a given linguistic area, they created teaching materials in that language so that the speakers of related languages or dialects could easily learn it.

The missionary policy was consistently extended beyond the purely religious borders to include various educational and cultural programmes even in French-controlled states. Today, it is no longer accurate to refer to them as "missionary programmes" because, although most still have the missions as their bases, they are supported and run by local communities as private educational and cultural programmes.

During the last three decades, adult literacy programmes throughout the world and the search for cultural identity by African elites have shaken the foundations of the French policy, reinforced the educational use of indigenous languages in anglophone countries, and brought many previously private educational programmes under close government control. Also, a strong movement towards selecting indigenous national languages has been developing since the early 1960s. National languages are apparently needed as indigenous media of wider communication as well as symbols of national and cultural identity.

2.2. The Language Situation in Africa

It is very difficult to know just how many languages are spoken on the continent because of such factors as the variation among language names and the establishment of boundaries between languages and dialects.

The same language often has different names in different countries or in parts of the same country. This also occurs in their spellings. On the other hand, the degree of mutual intelligibility is important in establishing boundaries between languages and dialects. However, although recent studies (Karam 1975, 1976) have focused on mutual intelligibility to facilitate language surveys, the application of these and other studies in some African countries is still quite limited (see also Bender et al. 1972).

It thus follows that the number of languages spoken in Africa can only be guessed at. This study estimates, on the basis of the data of Welmers (1971a), approximately 1.270 languages are spoken in Africa.

Greenberg (1963) provides a basic reference for the generic grouping of the languages spoken. The four major families presented by Greenberg are given below.

1. NIGER-KORDOFANIAN
   - A. Niger-Congo
     - west-Atlantic
     - Mande
     - Voltaic
     - Kwa
     - Benue-Congo
     - Adamawa-Eastern

2. NILO-SAHARAN
   - A. Songhai
   - B. Saharan
   - C. Maban
   - D. Fur
   - E. Chari-Nile
   - F. Koman

3. AFROASIATIC
   A. Semitic
   B. Egyptian (Ancient)
   C. Berber
   D. Cushitic
   E. Chadic

4. KHOISAN
   A. South African Khoisan
   B. Sandawe
   C. Hatsa

Welmers made a survey of the literature on the major indigenous languages of Africa, i.e., languages spoken by at least 500.000 people and compiled a list of 58 major indigenous languages (see Chart 2.1).

CHART 2.1

THE MAJOR INDIGENOUS LANGUAGES OF AFRICA (Welmers 1977).

Family, Branch Language	Location
NIGER-KORDOFANIAN	
Niger-Congo	
Mande	
Mandekan	Senegal, Gambia, Mali, Guinea, Ivory Coast, Sierra Leone
Mende	Sierra Leone
Kpelle	Liberia, Guinea
West Atlantic	
Fula	Guinea, Nigeria, Cameroon, enclaves Senegal to Nigeria
Wolof	Senegal
Temne	Sierra Leone
Gur-Voltaic	
Mooré	Upper Volta
Senari-Suppire	Ivory Coast, Mali
Kwa	
Kru group	Liberia, Ivory Coast
Anyi-Baule	Ivory Coast
Akan (Fante,Twi, etc.)	Ghana
Ewe-Fon	Ghana, Togo, Benin
Yoruba	Nigeria, Benin
Edo	Nigeria
Igbo	Nigeria
Efik	Nigeria

CHART 2.1 - Continued

Family, Branch, Language	Location
BENUE-CONGO	
Tiv (non-Bantu)	Nigeria
BANTU	
Fang-Bulu	Cameroon, Equatorial Guinea, Gabon
Kikongo	Zaire (lower Congo basin)
LiNgala	Zaire (middle Congo basin, lingua fanca)
LoNkundo (LoMongo)	Zaire (southern middle Congo basin)
CiLuba	Zaire (south central, southeast)
KiMbundu (KiNdongo)	Angola (northwest)
Cokwe	Angola (north), Zaire, Zambia
UMbundu	Angola (west central)
IsiZulu-IsiXhosa	South Africa (south, southeast coastal)
SeSotho-SePedi-SeTswana	Lesotho, South Africa, Botswana
CiShona	Rhodesia (Zimbabwe)
CiBemba	Zambia, Zaire
CiNyanja	Malawi
ShiTswa	Mozambique (south)
ShiTsonga	Mozambique (extreme south), South Africa
IMakua	Mozambique (north), Tanzania (south)
KiNyamwezi-KiSukuma	Tanzania (northwest)
KiSwahili	Tanzania, Kenya, Uganda, Zaire
KinyaRwanda-KiRundi	Rwanda, Burundi
Luganda	Uganda (south)
LuNyoro-LuToro	Uganda (southwest except extreme)
GiKikuyu	Kenya (central)
KiKamba	Kenya (central, east of GiKikuyu)
LuLuyia	Kenya, Uganda (south border area)
ADAMAWA-EASTERN	
Zande	Sudan, Central African Empire, Zaire
Sango	Zaire, Central African Empire, Chad
KORDOFANIAN	
Five branches :	no major languages
NILO-SAHARAN	
Songhai	
Songhai-Dyerma	Mali, Niger, Benin
Saharan	
Kanuri	Nigeria, Niger, Cameroon, Chad
Chari-Nile	
Shilluk-Luo	Sudan, Uganda, Kenya, Tanzania
Teso	Uganda, Kenya
Other branches :	no major languages
AFRO-ASIATIC [1]	
Semitic	
Arabic	North Africa

[1] The Egyptian branch (Egypt) is extinct.

CHART 2.1 - Continued

Family, Branch, Language	Location
Amharic	Ethiopia
Tigrinya	Ethiopia
Cushitic	
Somali	Somalia
Galla	Ethiopia
Sidamo	Ethiopia
Berber	
Kabyle	Algeria
Shilha	Morocco
Tamazight	Morocco
Tamachek (Tuareg)	Algeria, Niger
Chadic	
Hausa	Nigeria, Niger
KHOISAN	
No major languages	South Africa, Namibia, Angola

Another important aspect of the language situation is the existence of trade languages. These are generally used as languages of wider communication outside their geographic areas of origin. Gage (1971:27) offers information on the important African trade languages (see Table 2.1).

The languages adopted by governments as their official means of communication constitute another aspect of the language situation. There are three major official languages : Arabic, English, and French. It is difficult to make a clear distinction between the Arabic-, the English-, and the French-speaking countries because of the existence of official bilingualism (i.e., some countries adopt two official languages). For example, officially, Algeria is both Arabic- and French-speaking, Cameroon is both English- and French-speaking, and Tanzania is both English- and Swahili-speaking.

TABLE 2.1

IMPORTANT TRADE LANGUAGES IN AFRICA.

Language	General Use as Second Language (Millions)	Approximate Ratio Total Users to Native Speakers [1]
Swahili	13.5	9:1
Krio and Pidgin English	12	80:1
Hausa	6.5	1.5:1
Amharic	4.5	1.6:1
Maghrebi Arabic	3.5	1.12:1
Sudan, Chad, and Nigerian Arabic	3.	1.25:1
Mandekan	2.2	1.5:1
Afrikaans	1.7	1.4:1
ChiNyanja	1.7	1.4:1
Wolof	1.5	1.8:1
Sango	1.5	8:1
Kikongo	1.3	1.4:1
Nguni	1	1.1.1
Fulani	1	1.09:1
Songhai	.8	1.7:1
UMbundu	.8	1.4:1
LiNgala	.8	1.7:1
LuGanda	.6	1.25:1

However, according to Gage (1971), the Arabic area comprises seven northern nations whose population amounts to about 25 per cent of the continent. English is the official language of 19 political units. These have about 40 per cent of the continent's population while French-speaking countries represent 22 per cent.

Important changes have been developing, especially during the last two decades. To perceive the general trends of those changes, it is necessary to take a look at a representative number of individual African countries.

2.3. Survey of the Literature on Languages of Education in African Countries

This section attempts to identify the languages used in education in some African states for which reliable written information could be found. The countries are presented in alphabetical order. (Namibia only).

[1] Column 3 is adjusted for clarity.

Algeria

Population : 17,558,000 [1]

Approximate number of indigenous languages : 2

Approximate percentages of total population speaking the two indigenous languages : Unknown

Approximate literacy rate : 25 per cent (5 per cent Arabic, 9 per cent French, 11 per cent both) [2]

The educational system is generally bilingual in Arabic and French. Arabic is the primary medium of instruction at the primary education level. At the secondary level, subjects such as literature, history, geography and philosophy are taught in Arabic and the remaining subjects in French. The alternation between the local Algerian Arabic and Classical Arabic is such that "both varieties may be presented separately for the baccalaureate examination" (Fishman 1976:53). Berber is not utilized at the secondary level.

Botswana

Population : 720,000

Approximate number of indigenous languages : 2

Approximate percentages of total population speaking the two major indigenous languages : SeTswana, 99 per cent ; Shona, 1 per cent.

Approximate literacy rate : 20 per cent in English, 32 per cent in SeTswana

Fishman (1976:54) reports that most students at the secondary level are either bilingual in SeTswana and English or trilingual, for example, in Herero, SeTswana, and English. English is almost the only medium of instruction at the secondary level, SeTswana being used as a medium only when it itself is being taught. However, SeTswana is used as a medium of instruction at the primary level.

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1 Population figures are taken from "National Basic Intelligence"(1977). It may be noted that population figures tend to vary according to sources of information.

2 Literacy figures are also taken from "National Basic Intelligence"(1977). These figures are apparently not based on a precise definition of literacy. In fact, the definition of literacy varies considerably among reporting countries.

Cameroon

Population : 7,500,000

Approximate number of indigenous languages : 200

Approximate percentages of total population speaking the two major indigenous languages : Unknow

Approximate literacy rate : 40 kper cent in the south, 10 per cent in the north.

A detailed analysis of the Cameroon situation is given in Chapter VIII.

Ghana

Population : 10,281,000

Approximate number of indigenous languages : 54

Approximate percentages of total population speaking the two major indigenous languages : Akan, 44 per cent ; Mole-Daghani, 16 per cent

Approximate literacy rate : 25 per cent (in English).

Since the colonial period, primary education has been essentially bilingual in a local language and English. Until recently, secondary education was entirely in English, except for a Muslim Arabic secondary school in Kumasi (Fishman 1976:59). Boadi (1976:99) reports that the Ghanian Ministry of Education has proposed that "every child should be required to learn a second Ghanian language at the primary level". This proposal is an attempt to promote a wider cultural opening for individual pupils and a greater national cultural integration.

Ivory Coast

Population : 7,045,000

Approximate number of indigenous languages : 50

Approximate percentages of total population speaking the two major indigenous languages : Baoulé, 25 per cent; Bété, 18 per cent.

Approximate literacy rate : 05 per cent at primary school level

French is the official language and the sole medium of education. It is also used in televised primary instruction.

Four dominant indigenous languages - Senoufo, Bébé, Mlinké, and Baoulé - are currently being considered for adoption as national languages and alternate media of formal education. The Institute of Applied Linguistics at the University of Abidjan is devising alphabets and orthographies for these languages as well as teaching and reading materials.

Literacy programmes in indigenous languages and French are also envisaged. Thomas (1977:395-96) reports that, as of 1976, such programmes were conducted by private organizations. As a result, reading materials exist in Baoulé, Koulango, Toura, Yacouba, and Gban. Also, religious (Christian) reading materials exist as well as in Gouro, Senoufo, Wobé, Attié, and Agni.

Kenya

Population : 14,113,000

Approximate number of indigenous languages : 50+

Approximate percentages of total population speaking the two major indigenous languages: Swahili, 65 per cent ; Kikuyu, 25 per cent

Approximate literacy rate : 27 per cent.

English is the official language and Swahili the national language. Despite the political support for the use of Swahili in national affairs (Gorman 1973) its use as an alternate medium of primary and secondary education is still limited. Other indigenous languages such as Kikuyu, Luo, Luhya, and Kimkamba are used in their respective areas of origin as alternate media of early primary instruction. Adult literacy and postliteracy programmes are conducted in Swahili as well as in other indigenous languages (see also Hyder & Abdulaziz 1977 and Whiteley 1974).

Liberia

Population : 1,554,000

Approximate number of indigenous languages : 25+

Approximate percentages of total population speaking the two major indigenous languages: English, 20 per cent ; Bassa, 37 per cent

Approximate literacy rate : 24 per cent.

Fishman (1976:63) notes that English, the only medium of education is spoken natively by 40 per cent of the population. He adds that it is likely that Mande, the mother tongue of 44 per cent of the population, will become an alternate medium of instruction. However, Welmers [1] notes that "Mande is a group of languages, including five others on the list, none spoken by 44 per cent" [2] of the population. Efforts are being made by the government and missionary groups to develop educational reading materials in Liberian languages.

Libya

Population : 2,599,000

Approximate number of indigenous languages : 2

Approximate percentages of total population speaking the two indigenous languages : Unknown

Approximate literacy rate : 35 per cent.

The all-Arabic approach to education, traditionally followed by Koranic schools, has recently been generalized to the detriment of the postwar Arabic-English approach (Fishman 1976 : 63). However, the alternation between the local Arabic and Classical Arabic suggests that even an all-Arabic approach may actually still result in bilingual education. Berber is not taught at the secondary level.

Mauritania

Population : 1,371,000

Approximate number of indigenous languages : 5+

Approximate percentages of total population speaking the two major indigenous languages : Arabic, 87 per cent ; Fulani, 13 per cent

Approximate literacy rate : 10 per cent.

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1 Personal communication, 1977.

2 The figure 44 per cent (taken from Morrison et al. 1972 : 283) was also used in Tadadjeu (1977) and Welmers' remark was made apropos of that particular reference.

Arabic and French constitute alternate media of instruction at the primary level, but some Koranic schools operate exclusively in Arabic. Fishman (1976:64) notes that the increased contacts with anglophone African countries have led Mauritania also to emphasize the use of English as a language of instruction at the secondary level.

Nigeria

Population : 65,628, 000

Approximate number of indigenous languages : 300 +

Approximate percentages of total populations speaking the two major indigenous languages : Hausa, 30 per cent ; Yoruba, 20 per cent

Approximate literacy rate : 25 per cent.

Like most anglophone African countries, Nigeria has a tradition of using indigenous languages as media of instruction in the early grades of primary education and switching to English in the upper grades. However, before the switch, emphasis is generally placed on the teaching of dominant indigenous languages, nine of which are recognized at the national level : Hausa, Igbo, Yoruba, Fulani (Fulfulde), Kanuri, Edo, Ijo, Efik, and Idoma (Adekunle 1972:90). The first three are the most dominant indigenous languages.

A recent experiment at Ife has shown that Yoruba can be effectively utilized as the only medium of primary instruction (Afolayan 1976 ; Taiwo 1976). Another experiment, the Rivers Readers Project (Williamson 1976), covered the use of over 15 minority languages as alternate media of primary instruction, along with English. In Northern Nigeria, Koranic schools utilize Arabic and some Hausa.

As a part of its Universal Primary Education (UPE) curriculum, the Nigerian Federal Government has selected seven indigenous languages: Hausa, Igbo, Yoruba, Kanuri, Fulani (Fulfulde), Edo, and Efik (Taiwo 1976:18). The government is sponsoring the development of teaching materials in these languages.

Senegal

Population : 5,174, 000

Approximate number of indigenous languages : 10 +

Approximate percentages of total population speaking the two major indigenous languages : Wolof, 60-83 per cent ; Fulani, 24 per cent

Approximate literacy rate : 5-10 per cent (age 14 and over).

French is the official language, and six indigenous national languages were promulgated in 1971 (République du Sénégal 1972) : Wolof, Serére, Poular (Fulani), Diola, Malinké, and Soninké. The Senegalese head of state, Leopold Senghor (1977:8) announced that Wolof would be utilized experimentally from autumn 1977 as a medium of instruction in the first grade in the Wolof-speaking areas. The other national languages would be introduced subsequently as basic problems concerning their standardization are resolved. French would be introduced in Wolof medium schools in the third term. Adult literacy instruction in Wolof was also due to begin in 1977.

Senegalese authorities view their educational system as evolving towards a bilingual system involving an indigenous language and French (Senghor 1977:9). However, practically, there is a tendency to generalize the teaching of Wolof as a second language (Ndao 1977:709-10). This inclination is supported by the fact that Wolof is spoken by up to 83 per cent of the population (Samb 1977:732). On the other hand, a strictly bilingual system may not contribute to the development of the ethnic and cultural identity of non-native speakers of Wolof. Thus, Samb (1977:732-33) suggests that the actual trend is towards a multilingual education system that is only minimally bilingual. Diop et al. (1975:23-24) outline for francophone countries, with particular reference to Senegal, a "three-level" language education system that would actually be a trilingual system for minority groups.

Sierra Leone

Population : 2,810,000

Approximate number of indigenous languages : 18 +

Approximate percentages of total population speaking the two major indigenous languages : Temne-Limba, 45 per cent ; Mendé, 36 per cent

Approximate literacy rate : 10 per cent.

English is the language of instruction in all primary education. However, the local mother tongues fulfill the following oral functions :

(1) In beginning classes particularly, the teacher and children may use the local language whenever they are unable to communicate in English ;

(2) The teacher may make deliberate use of the local language in primary school to develop self-expression and creativity ;

(3) In the teaching of English, particularly in the upper primary classes, the teacher makes use of the method of contrast with the mother tongue or the dominant local language.

This situation corresponds to what Fishman and Lovas (1970:87) term "monoliterate bilingualism" where oral skills are developed in two languages but literacy skills are not developed in the mother tongue. However, things are changing. Fyle (1976:54) notes that the "English or nothing" rule has been altered since 1970, when the government decided that Sierra Leone languages would be taught in all schools.

With the assistance of various missionary organizations, indigenous languages are being extensively utilized in adult education.

Tanzania

Population : 15,772,000

Approximate number of indigenous languages : 75 +

Approximate percentages of total population speaking the two major indigenous languages : Swahili, 88 per cent ; Sukuma, 12 per cent

Approximate literacy rate : 15-20 per cent.

Mhina (1976:3) reports that Swahili is the medium of instruction at the primary level, English being introduced as a subject in the upper classes. At the secondary

level, English becomes the primary medium. Fishman (1976:70) notes that "physical education, citizenship, history, and the first year of high school math tend to be taught in Swahili, whereas the remainder of the science curriculum is taught in English". Swahili is also the medium of adult literacy instruction and post-literacy education (Viscusi 1971). Recognition is not given to other indigenous languages.

Togo

Population : 2,304,000

Approximate number of indigenous languages : 15 +

Approximate percentages of total population speaking the two major indigenous languages : Ews, 50 per cent ; Kabiye, 20 per cent

Approximate literacy rate : 54.9 per cent of school age (7-14 years) currently in school.

Until recently, French, the official language, was the only medium of formal education. However, Karna and Nouma (1977:19) report that Ewe and Kabiye have been selected by the government as national languages and the programme for teaching them at all levels was activated two years ago. The alphabets of these languages were adopted following a regional seminar on the normalization and harmonization of the alphabets of languages spoken in Ghana, Upper Volta, Niger, Benin and Togo. Karna and Nouma also report that Ewe and Kabiye as the media of adult literary programmes are proving very successful.

Zaire

Population : 25,960,000

Approximate number of indigenous languages : 300 +

Approximate percentages of total population speaking the two major indigenous languages : Kikongo, 30 per cent ; Swahili, 25 per cent.

Approximate literacy rate : 15 per cent

There are four indigenous national languages : Lingala, KiKongo, Swahili, and

CiLuba. Early in the 1960s, the use of these and other indigenous languages as media of early primary education was discontinued in favour of French, the official language, as the only educational medium. However, the national languages were reintroduced in primary schools in 1974 as alternate media. (Tran Hong Cam & Le Boul 1977:78). The oral use of other indigenous languages as supplementary media of instruction is reported in certain schools, especially in areas where those languages are spoken natively.

Zambia

Population : 5,099,000

Approximate number of indigenous languages : 60

Approximate percentages of total population speaking the two major indigenous languages : CiBemba, 15 per cent ; Tonga, 12 per cent

Approximate literacy rate : 28 per cent.

Indigenous languages are utilized in the early classes of primary education, the complete switch to English occurring in the upper classes. English is the only medium of instruction at the secondary level (Fishman 1976:73). Indigenous languages are also utilized for literacy instruction and postliteracy education

Although the focus of this section has been on the identification of languages used in education in African countries, the literature often indicates other general trends that may not be apparent from the review presented here. Such trends are discussed in the next section.

2.4. Similarities of the Current Trends in Language Education Reforms

The following similarities may be noted in the various reports on language education reforms.

1. Reforms are generally towards the use of more indigenous languages as alternate media of formal education and for adult literacy instruction and post-literacy education (except in dominantly Arabic-speaking countries, where Classical

Arabic plays an important role while non-Arabic languages tend to be ignored).

2. One of the first steps in governmental involvement in developing indigenous languages for educational purposes consists in creating new institutions of (or related to) higher education to which various language duties are entrusted. However, this increased institution-building does not necessarily mean high performance, because sufficient trained personnel is not always available

3. The development of alphabets and orthographies for unwritten languages is a general activity often undertaken at the regional level for groups of concerned countries and, since 1966, with the assistance of experts (Sow 1977).

4. As more and more languages are used, there is a tendency to teach certain subjects exclusively in specifically designated languages,(e.g. culturally related subjects in indigenous languages).

5. Increasing emphasis is placed on the development of the national culture with the teaching of indigenous languages often seen as e means of achieving this goal.

6. While emphasis is also laid on mother tongue education (Bamgbose 1976) and more specifically, on indigenous national languages, there is a growing trend towards planning the teaching of official foreign languages functionally as instruments of specialized communications. As a result, the relationship between indigenous languages and the official foreign language is seen as a complementary rather than a conflicting one. This view was the focus of the symposium held in Dakar, Senegal, in March 1976 (CILF 1977).

7. The oral use of officially unrecognized indigenous languages as supplementary media in early primary school instruction is often offset, for example, by assigning teachers outside their mother tongue areas. This phenomenon reveals

situations where the actual number of languages of education is increased by one. Such situations are probably the most general, especially in the rural areas, as they involve the education of linguistic minority children.

8. Efforts are made to bridge the gap between the schools and the communities by, among other means, encouraging student participation in adult literacy instruction.

9. There are two apparently conflicting trends : 1) a trend towards planning the overall primary education system, from the language standpoint, as a transitional bilingual-biliterate system involving one indigenous language and the official foreign language with the transition occurring as a switch from the indigenous to the foreign language ; and 2) a trend towards introducing the indigenous national languages as media of instruction for certain subjects at the secondary level and, eventually, at the university level.

10. Finally, in various discussions of the languages of education, when the limitations of the bilingual view become apparent, there is a tendency to avoid thorough consideration of an alternative view. In such instances, the term multilingual approach is often used to denote a possible alternative, but the term itself is generally left undefined.

It thus appears that most African countries are searching for a system of multilingual and multicultural education that best meets the needs and aspirations of the majority of their populations. The similarities of language education trends point to a general direction towards the development of a comprehensive model of multilingual education.

CHAPTER III

LANGUAGE EDUCATION PLANNING AS A PART OF NATIONAL LANGUAGE PLANNING IN AFRICA

3.1. Definition of Language Planning

The term language planning means different things to different people ; but its simplest definition is that of a consciously organized effort at the governmental level to solve a language problem. As argued in Haugen (1966a) and Karam (1974), a language planning effort may be oriented towards a very wide range of problems, such as status or code selection, language maintenance, literacy, modernization, cultivation and language teaching. Fishman (1974) reviews the five most commonly accepted components of language planning : policy formulation, structure codification, lexical elaboration, implementation and evaluation.

Policy formulation is the general process of language decision-making. A language decision may affect the status of a language, for example, when it is selected as a national or provincial language. It may also affect some of its functions, e.g. the decision to use or not to use it in the law courts of a given community. Policy formulation also deals with decision-making regarding alternative ways of implementing an established language policy. Its less-know aspect is the actual procedure for arriving at a language decision. The procedure may vary from one context to the next, but there are certainly common characteristics (Dil 1973 ; Ọkonkwo 1975).

Codification covers the development of a standard language. This is a difficult process involving the choice of a supradialectal norm, the development of its writing system, and the description of its grammar. Both Ray (1963) and Haugen (1966a) stress that a standard language should be efficient, (easy to learn and to use) adequate (possessing the desired degree of precision to convey information)

and acceptable to its users. Fasold (1974) suggests acceptability as the most important.

Lexical elaboration deals with the expansion of the vocabulary of the chosen standard language, especially when new terminology is needed. For example, a national language might lack the technical terms to express scientific and technological concepts. Additional terminology may, in turn, create morphological problems (pluralization or inflection) and some basic phonological problems (unavailable consonant clusters) that are reflected in spelling variants.

Implementation is concerned with the actual execution of a language plan. Evaluation is assessment of the degree to which the implementation is progressing in accordance with the plan. Intertranslatability refers to a combination of codification, elaboration, and stylistic cultivation all intended "to render as adequately and as effortlessly as possible in one's own language that which is already accurately and easily expressible in one or another crucial language of wider communication" (Fishman 1974:24). The latter language is considered as a referent with respect to the standard language being developed.

Karam (1974) adds to the above components a missing operational dimension : the repeated movement of implementation. This starts with an initial identification of the norm to be promoted, continues through codification, dissemination (receiving) language community (which is also the source of feedback), language and culture change, and finally returns to a new stage of norm identification. Thus the process is viewed as a recurring interaction between a language-planning agency and a language community.

3.2. Historical Development of Language-Planning Studies and Linguistics ; Perspective for Africa.

Language Planning originated in the United States in the late 1950s. Relatively neglected as compared to other areas of linguistics, the prospects of

its becoming a predominant area of studies in Africa are great in view of the type of language problems prevailing there.

According to Haugen, the term language planning was first used by Uriel Weinreich in 1957 as the title of his seminar at Columbia University. In 1959, Haugen used the same term "perhaps for the first time (in the literature)... to describe the efforts in Norway, over the past century, to achieve a language expressive of nationalistic identity" (Karam 1974:105). The development of its literature has since paralleled, to a considerable extent, that of the literature on the sociology of language (Fishman 1968). Although many nations are today involved in some language planning activities, language planning as a discipline for theoretical and practical investigation is relatively new. Fishman (1974:15) clearly noted that "..the practitioners of language planning legislators, implementors of policy, government agency and language academy personnel, language specialists in private industry, etc) have not yet turned to or utilized language planning research to any major degree as a guide to their own procedures". One role of such research has been to describe past and ongoing language planning activities and to use those descriptions to train language planning students (Rubin & Shuy 1973).

With the exception of policy formulation, the components mentioned above, when applied, for example, to the development of a standard language, require linguistic expertise. Haugen (1966b:295) feels that language planning must ultimately be based on the work of professional linguists. However, he recognizes that linguistics is necessary but not sufficient for language planning. This concern has led some linguists to attempt to redefine the role of linguistics in language planning.

Garvin (1973) argued that linguistics should be developed so as to become a resource for language planning. He pointed out that language planning cannot

be considered simply as an area of applied linguistics, because applied linguistics finds only residual linguistics theories (if any theory at all) to actually apply. Moreover, applied linguistics is generally regarded by many linguists as inferior to "pure" or theoretical linguistics. Garvin suggests that the scope of linguistics should be broadened to allow it to help solve some of the many language problems of today's world.

In policy formation, linguists might evaluate the degree of development of the languages under consideration. Such objective treatment of language might contribute to reducing some sentimental and subjective factors surrounding language decisions In codification (which includes grammars and dictionaries), phonology and morphology are useful when directed towards the devising or revising of writing systems. Similarly, phonology and morphology are the linguist's principal tools for dealing with problems of lexical expansion, including the indigenization of borrowed terms. The intellectualization (adequacy and intertranslatability) of a selected standard language is achieved through syntax and morphology.

There is, however, an important area that Garvin neglects, namely, the relevance of psycholinguistics. For example, it is very important for planners concerned with mother tongue education in multilingual countries to recognize that research in first and second language acquisition indicates that grammars may not be necessary as textbooks in primary schools. Thus, the lack of a grammar for a given language does not block such mother tongue education. What would be needed is a writing system, appropriate reading texts, and a consistent treatment of school subjects. This issue is discussed further in Chapter V.

Besides the notion that language planning might help make linguistics a broader and a more practically oriented field, there are signs that it might even lead to "linguistics planning", i.e. the development of linguistic research based on the actually specified language problems of a given community. This is being done

in the People's Republic of China, where linguistic research is seeking practical solutions to language problems (Lehman 1975).

3.3. Language Education Planning

The survey will now examine the developmental prospects of linguistics and language-planning studies in Africa. Discussing Ghana, Apronti (1974:1) posed the following question : " How should a multilingual society such as Ghana cope at the national and/or official level with all the languages in use in her territory ?". Although this question can apply to most African countries, it is not addressed explicitly enough in the language-planning literature. In Apronti's view, Ghana has to find a way to cope with all the languages in use in its territory. But it has been generally felt that very multilingual developing nations cannot employ all their languages for educational purposes (Bull 1955). This notion will be refuted in the discussion that follows.

An extended version of Apronti's question is : How can the multilingual countries of Africa systematically cope with all the languages in use in their territories ? The discussion necessarily involves all African lanbuages because all can play some role, at least as oral media, in education. No doubt this creates serious problems since some languages have relatively few speakers, but if the objective is to provide a basic equal educational opportunity for children, the problems and costs simply must be contended with (see sections 2.4, 4.4, and 7.5.3).

Language planners must show that their countries either can or cannot use all their languages. The present study feels that they can since, in administrative and educational contexts, especially in the rural areas, communication is possible only through mother tongues. It must also be demonstrated just how these countries can satisfactorily integrate linguistic minorities into their language plans.

In other words, language planners might indicate how not to substitute one type of linguistic imperialism, involving the imposition of colonial languages over African languages, by another involving the imposition of certain African languages called national languages over those of minority groups.

The general goal of African education planning today is to ensure that young people completing primary school adequately fit into their society. The purpose of language planning should be to help educational authorities adopt, plan, and successfully implement those policies and programmes that best prepare specific groups (students or working adults) to use language skills properly in specific languages for societal functions. For example, in terms of adult literacy, the ultimate goal is to transform a predominantly illiterate society into a predominantly literate one. Here, planners should establish a systematic procedure to decrease adult illiteracy, the challenging target being 100 per cent literacy rate for people above 15 years of age.

The primary school appears today as the focus of initial educational reform with the goal to provide free Universal Primary Education (UPE). Nigeria is fortunate in this respect since it launched a UPE programme in 1976.

In general, language is the single major component of primary education. Every teacher is to a large extent a language teacher and most often a second or foreign language teacher (see section 8.1 for further discussion). Therefore, the proper training of primary school teachers should be a major concern of educational authorities. Teacher training also includes in-service training and periodic methodological updating. Primary school teachers should be constantly informed about recent research findings on language development, L2 acquisition, multilingual education, and other areas relevant to language education. Similarly, materials development should be based on these research findings. All of these efforts require a great deal of planning. The needed linguistic research must be

planned and coordinated ; the distribution of findings must be planned so that every school teacher benefits from it. The bulk of these tasks falls to African language experts, i.e., linguists.

Given the great demands on language education in Africa, it appears that, for a long time to come, linguistics in its broader definition (i.e., including language-planning studies) will be devoting most of its resources to language education. This is why a theory of language education planning is necessary.

Language education planning comprises four major components : policy formulation, implementation planning, actual implementation, and evaluation. As in language planning, these components are interconnected.

Policy formulation involves activities such as decision-making regarding the model to utilize (e.g., monolingual, bilingual, or trilingual), the specification of the medium or media of instruction, the number and level of subjects to be taught through each medium and at what level, and the chief resources for implementation. Implementation planning includes the establishment of the necessary institutions, initial methodological research and material development, and the training of teacher trainers and of a reasonable number of teachers. For example, in Senegal, six years elapsed between the promulgation of the decree (1971) allowing the teaching of national languages in primary schools and the initial experimental teaching of one of these languages (1977).

Actual implementation involves the formal teaching of the languages and the intensification of personnel training, material development and research. Evaluation is continuous or periodic assessment of the success or failure of a given programme. As noted by Spolsky et al. (1976), adequate evaluation requires that the various educational and non educational factors that contribute to the success of a programme be taken into account. The results of evaluation serve for further policy formulation, implementation planning and actual implementation.

3.4. The Problem of Choosing Languages of Education

In 1951, a special committee recommended that, in multilingual nations, every child should receive at least initial education in his mother tongue. This recommendation, supported in the present study, has been subjected to various objections that are often presented as compromise alternatives.

For example, Bull (1955:290) wrote that it was impossible to "endow every speech community with a complete vernacular school system and with vernacular libraries capable of competing educationally with the great installations of the primarily monolingual nations". However, he failed to explain why a complete vernacular school system is necessary and why a multilingual nation should have to compete with a monolingual nation in terms of vernacular libraries.

Even more questionable is his further statement :

> ... It would seem that the speakers of many vernacular languages are doomed to a kind of intellectual colonialism which can be mitigated only by some type of linguistic integration with larger speech communities and ultimately with a community whose language and resources are adequate for education in every field of human endeavor ".

This suggestion would be accurate and perhaps of some interest if the speakers of most of the so-called vernacular languages could passively accept their linguistic deprivation. Bull's suggestion of an eventual world-wide programme for reducing the number of world languages ignores its tremendous divisive consequences on many developing nations by severely weakening the possibility for equality within cultural and linguistic diversity. Furthermore, Bull overlooks linguistic convergence and divergence as attested in the Caribbean, Hawaii, and India. His suggestion is based on the requirements of some modern education and modern society that he does not define. However, since most developing countries are still defining their own philosophy of modern education as well as the content of the type of education that best meets their needs, one cannot by-pass the goals of education

and of language education.

In general agreement with Bull, Fasold (1974) suggests a further compromise. He proposes four criteria : (1) functional importance (the attractiveness of the language as a second language) ; (2) number of speakers (languages with more native speakers should be preferred over those with fewer speakers) ; (3) group preference (in some cases, the speakers of a language - for example, a creole - may not feel that their language should be used in education) ; and (4) the level of language development (languages with more technical vocabulary, a higher degree of standardization, and more printed materials should be considered more developed and thus preferred over less-developed languages). The criteria are designed to bring the political decisions on the languages of education into line with the ongoing informal choices that the society already makes regarding actual language use. These informal choices result from many social forces that determine the success of a language plan. Generally, these social forces are beyond the control of language planners. As a result, Fasold suggests a rowing downstream principle whereby the planners identify the choices that the society's elite is going to make and then establish language policies accordingly.

Fasold has not specified a hierarchy for his four criteria, but in reference to Africa, the group preference criterion seems the least significant. That it is the least significant has implications for the conditions under which his other three criteria might apply. First, group preference is most valid only in creole-speaking communities and the number of creoles in Africa is minimal. Second, when people in African communities indicate that they do not want their language to be used in education, it is usually because such education does not lead to the same social and economic advantages as education in an official foreign language.

This means that, if people, in most African countries, were asked to choose between education in an African language or in an official non-African language,

most would choose the latter. However, this does not mean that they necessarily believe that they speak "bad" languages, but that they had been presented with the necessity of choosing only one of two alternatives, without the option of choosing both. Their choice would reflect group preference, but would not necessarily reflect the value that people really attach to their indigenous language.

Similarly, a minority speech community, presented with the two alternatives of education in an indigenous national language or in its own language, would most likely choose the national language, especially if there are economic and socio-political advantages associated with knowledge of the national language. However, this would not mean that the community regards its own language as inadequate, but that the community has not been offered bilingual education in its own language and the national language.

Many illiterate African parents cannot fully participate in the education of their children because it is conducted in a language they do not understand. They simply leave the entire responsibility to the schools ; yet it is difficult to imagine how schools could possibly pass on to such children all the cultural heritage important to the parents and to their cultural group. The point here is that a society that makes it impossible for most parents to assist their children in the early school years (the most important years of child's growth) may be endangering its own future. Thus, given the many hidden factors in Fasold's criterion of group preference, the ethics of using it in language education planning is highly questionable. Consequently, any attempt to select languages of education implicitly means superimposing certain languages over others. No matter how reasonable the arguments offered , they all lead to a socio-linguistic problem which cannot be solved to the satisfaction of most populations concerned.

In another inadequate alternative, Louis (1970) presents three pedagogical functions of language : (a) access to written communication, (b) a medium of

instruction, and (c) a subject of instruction. These three functions should be fully considered in the choice of languages of education within a bilingual system. However, while it is clear that one of the languages in the proposed bilingual system is French, all that is stated about the African language is that it must be a dominant language, i.e. a majority language. Minority languages are excluded because presumably most minority children are probably bilingual or even trilingual, which is not entirely true in the rural areas where the majority of the people live. Thus, the above three pedagogical functions may not constitute reliable choice criteria.

A round-table held in Cameroon in 1973 on vernacular language education and national unity (Collège Libermann 1974) is another illustration of the problem of trying to select languages of education. The discussion centred on the selection of indigenous languages of wider communication for schools and adult literacy programmes. Unfortunately, the issue was discussed in terms of which languages should be selected and which ones ignored. With such an approach, it is hard to see how such action in a highly multilingual nation could but reinforce separatist feelings.

One of the main concerns of the participants was the sociolinguistic methodology to be used in selecting the language of wider communication spoken in a given province. The report issued states that once such a language was identified, it would be recommended to the government for use in primary schools and in adult literacy. The government could also decree that the language be the provincial language. However, no serious consideration was given to the subjective but very strong negative attitudes that could exist between the native and non-native speakers of a potential provincial language. The participants ignored language attitudes and emphasized sociolinguistic procedure. It would have been more revealing to explain the difficulties that prevent Fulfulde, the obvious

"langue véhiculaire" of the Northern province, from being introduced into its educational system. Obviously the choice of provincial languages in Cameroon is a difficult task, but any choice would be misleading if it were to be made without proper consideration of attitudinal factors.

The present study takes a different approach. It recognizes that the standard forms of languages of education must be selected either from one of the dialects of the language concerned or some combination of such dialects, as was done in various areas of Africa (Ansre 1971 ; Tadadjeu & Tegomo 1972). In the choice of a standard code, social factors tend to offset the properly linguistic factors (Pike 1947: 21"-15).

However, as regards the choice of languages as instruction media, it is felt that, particularly at the primary school level, the real issue is the specification of the educational functions of the various media, one of which must be the language of the community of a given school. For example, virtually all mother tongues can be used orally as alternate media in rural primary schools. Such use may also facilitate the introduction of a second language as an alternate medium. And, withir a unifying model of multilingual education, the official recognition of the oral use of mother tongues might significantly facilitate the choices of second languages of education in African countries where such choices may not have beer made.

3.5. Language Education Planning and National Unity in Africa

In nation-building, language planning serves a unifying function by promoting a common medium of communication. Many African countries fear that indigenous language problems might undermine national unity. First-language education is often one of these problems because of the plethora of such languages. Yet, this study feels that first-language education is possible and necessary.

One factor highlighting the need for national unity efforts in Africa is that of national boundaries, which were arbitrarily drawn so as either to include within individual countries many ethnic and linguistic groups, or to assign homogeneous groups to two adjacent countries. Hence, a valid requirement for nation-building appears to be the achievement of national unity while preserving a country's ethnic, linguistic, and cultural diversities.

National unity has been promoted with relatively unsystematic language-planning efforts. As noted in Bamgbose (1976a), language policies often fluctuate. This may be the result of changing needs and perceptions arising from changing socio-linguistic configurations in the population. Perhaps a more important reason is the absence of serious studies to aid various language decision-making processes. However, more and more activities are concerned with language education problems. The role of international organizations such as Unesco, the International African Institute (IAI) the Organization of African Unity (OAU), as well as private organizations such as the Ford Foundation (Fox, 1975), is also vital, especially in the sponsorship of regional conferences on language education problems.

National unity is organized by the government and the private sector and structures in terms of administrative, political and economic systems. In each of these systems, indigenous languages are the means of communication and expression of the various cultures, which make up the unified national culture.

In most African countries, there are four major levels in the administrative system of government with important linguistic correlates ; these are, in order of geographic size : the national, the provincial (or state in Nigeria), the divisional, and the district. The terms vary from nation to nation but the hierarchical structure is similar. These levels constitute the basic administrative structure. Governmental institutions are hierarchically structured to match these levels. Similarly, the political parties and economic plans are organized according to them.

Administrative communication is vertically transmitted from the national level down to the provincial level, and from the latter to the divisional level where it is finally transmitted to district areas. An example of the administrative use of languages is observable in the mass media. In radio broadcasting, for example, official languages constitute the media of communication with a target audience of administrators and educated people. However, since the majority of the population does not understand the official languages, certain indigenous languages are used for broadcasts to limited target audiences equal to provincial populations. Thus, the distribution of radio stations is often planned to meet the needs of provincial communication. The communication languages used at this level are officially recognized national and/or provincial languages, or are candidates for such recognition. But, because of multilingualism, these languages are not always understood by the entire population of a given target province. Therefore, divisional and district level communication by radio is less effective. Thus, much administrative communication is carried out orally by means of mother tongues, either directly (often unofficially) or through interpreters. This method is also used in local law courts, basic political units, churches, etc.

Most African countries have only one political party. The communicative pattern within the party is generally the same as the administrative one. This means that for a given country, there is a three-level system of oral communication utilizing all the languages and dialects for administrative and political reasons, and thereby strengthening national unity. This system of communication is generally not officially recognized as such. There is also important overlapping between the languages used. The following diagram illustrates this oral communication system.

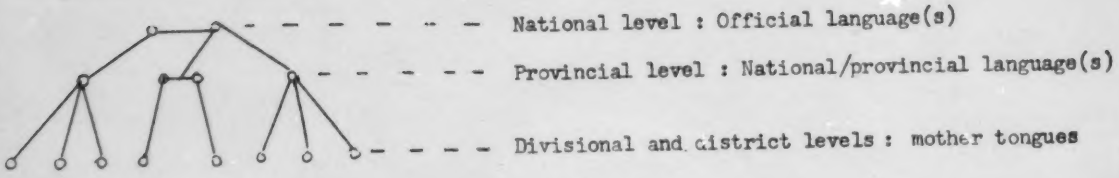

National level : Official language(s)
Provincial level : National/provincial language(s)
Divisional and district levels : mother tongues

Fig. 3.1. The Three-Level Oral Communication System.

In the above illustration, nodes refer to the three levels and there may be more than one language at each level. This system of oral communication is also used by the economic system. Most African economic systems are based upon four- or five-year development plans. The doctrine applied varies, but it generally is either socialistic, capitalistic or some combination thereof. For example, the one in Cameroon is called "planned liberalism" and aims at harmonizing free enterprise with government ownership. As a result, there are many government economic projects at the national, provincial and divisional levels. This pattern also exists in the private sector. There is government control of agriculture, where the commercialization of cash crops like coffee and cocoa is supervised by its officials. The banking system is also under government supervision.

Regarding language use, the official languages are generally used in the industries. Since most national languages are also lingua franca, they frequently serve as interethnic trade languages. In the agricultural sector, the mother tongues are the most frequently used.

We turn now to the actual possibility that the multiplicity of languages could undermine national unity. A language by itself is not a sufficient social factor to separate its native speakers from a nation that is administratively, politically, and economically united. There must be some extralinguistic reason (e.g., cultural, economic, or political) for a language community to want to withdraw from the national community. Once such a reason exists, language becomes the first instrument for secessionist activities.

In many African countries, there are government officials who believe that the planning of a systematic utilization of all languages in use would increase tribal feelings and eventually lead to secessionist activities. This, along with other tribalistic discriminations, could undermine national unity. Although these fears are understandable, they should not be overemphasized. A first step towards changing such views is the clarification of the contexts in which a language fulfills a separatist role.

Linguists and anthropologists (Garvin and Mathiot 1956 ; Okonkwo 1975 ; Smith 1972) generally recognize that language fulfills various social functions, five of which are relevant here : the expressive, the unifying, the separatist, the integrative, and the communicative functions. In its expressive function, a language expresses the intimate experiences and world views of its native speakers. This is essentially an in-group function(Nida & Wonderley 1971), limited to the native speaker's circle of personal contacts. Even in a formal setting, native speakers generally use their language for this expressive function. In its unifying function, a language supports the feeling of togetherness, the sense of kinship and of unity of the community. It may be an in-group or out-group function involving both native and non-native speakers. In its separatist function, a language marks ethnic cleavages, i.e. a community feels distinct from other language communities. Thus, the language supports a sense of uniqueness. In its integrative function, a language can serve to integrate non-native speakers within its related community. The non-natives learn the language in order to participate in the cultural, economic, or political advantages enjoyed by the native speakers. This is essentially an out-group function. Language here usually also fulfills a prestige function. In its communicative function (the essential function of any language), emphasis is often put on the formal use of language for communicating

precise information, e.g. religious, scientific, or technological).

In Africa, what is often referred to as tribalistic behaviour is mostly instances of language use for expressive functions as those functions are observed by non-native speakers. Such use lacks the political or economic bases to threaten national unity. Similarly, the separatist function of language, without cultural, economic and political support, rarely affects national unity. Thus, language planning should continuously clarify those instances of language use that are correlated with sociolinguistic factors and may eventually endanger national unity.

Language planning should be based on the actual attested functions of a language rather than on potential unattested ones. It is difficult to identify an African country where language has been the main cause of a secessionist activity or of a major breakdown in national unity. Despite the great multitude of languages and the resulting linguistic problems, past secessionist activities have had non-language sources and have been likewise resolved.

CHAPTER IV

THE EMERGENCE OF A LANGUAGE EDUCATION PLANNING MODEL

4.1. The Triglossic Pattern

Ferguson (1959) introduced the notion of "diglossia" to refer to the functional use of language varieties in a speech community. In a diglossic situation, one variety of the same language is used for informal communication and another for formal communication.

Ferguson cites the use of Arabic, where colloquial Arabic is used for ordinary conversation and Classical Arabic for formal, written, and religious communication. Diglossia involves neither bilingualism nor stylistic shifting. The two varieties must not be two different languages, but two different styles of the same language.

Fishman (1970) agrees with Ferguson on functional use but does not focus on relatedness. In his view, if two separate languages are functionally distributed within the same community, a diglossic situation exists. Emphasizing this functional distribution, Fishman shows that both diglossia and bilingualism may exist in a single community. Both societal bilingualism and diglossia exist when most people in the community are competent in two languages but use one for formal communication and the other for informal communication.

The notion of diglossia has been extended to that of triglossia (Abdulaziz 1972; Johnson 1975), which is defined by Johnson as

> "... a type of language situation characterized by a similar division (i.e., similar to diglossic division) of communicative functions among three language varieties, a vernacular and two superposed varieties, one of which is an indigenous lingua franca and the other an introduced world language. The three varieties are not necessarily even related. This type of language situation is becoming increasingly noticeable in Africa and is typified in East Africa where numerous vernaculars are in a triglossic relationship with Swahili and English "(p.93)

There is reason to regard triglossia as a general feature of the language situation throughout Africa. The preceding section showed that there exists a three-level pattern of societal language use.(see section 3.5.). The societal functions of language are also largely complementary ; for example, an official language news broadcast is not textually translated (i.e. sentence by sentence) into the selected indigenous languages that are also used for broadcasting. On the other hand, oral translations or interpretations of the same news from either the official or national language(s) into any of the vernaculars vary from place to place. This may often be due to the social context of such translations.

Since the development of the three-level pattern of societal language use is socially influenced by the development of the administrative, political, and economic systems, the functional use of different languages at each of the levels constitutes a triglossic situation in each country as well as cross-nationally.

Moreover, in most African countries, languages are symbols of identity at each of the three levels. In Senegal, for example, although Wolof functions as the de facto national language spoken by some 83 per cent of the population (Samb 1977), five other languages were also chosen by the government in 1971 as national languages so that the regions could be represented linguistically. French remains the official language.

Even when a nation selects several national languages, one of them is one de facto national language simply because it is spoken by a greater number of people. The competition between foreign official languages and indigenous official languages actually between the de facto national languages and the adopted foreign official languages. Therefore, if African indigenous languages are to replace foreign official languages,(Kotey 1975), the de facto national languages would be the most obvious candidates for official language status.

4.2. The Ambiguous Status of English and French

The problem here is that it is not clear whether French and English are considered as African languages or not. The adoption of African languages as official languages is likely to occur in the form of official bilingualism, as in Tanzania and in the Maghreb rather than as an official monolingual policy where the foreign official language is replaced by an indigenous one. The official bilingual alternative could even materialize in the foreseeable future if the African elite regard the previously adopted foreign official languages as African languages.

In many African elite families, children speak either English or French as a first language. And, although either English or French is spoken by a very small percentage of Africans, there are also many African languages spoken by a small number of people (e.g., a few thousand people). In addition, the various daily uses of English and French make them less foreign than, say, Russian in the United States.

English and French are also increasingly taught as second or foreign languages (David 1975). However, they are still largely regarded as colonial languages accepted only for lack of adequate indigenous substitutes. Therefore, if English and French are to become African languages, it is not likely to occur in the foreseeable future. If it does, English is more likely to be regarded as such than French, since it is already spoken natively by some 40 per cent of the Liberian population (Fishman 1976:63).

French is not simply an instrument of communication ; it also symbolizes the doctrine of francophonie which has its own system of beliefs that constitute pressures to maintain and reinforce the use of the language (Weinstein 1976). This doctrine is systematically spread by former colonial administrators who have become francophonie organizers, as well as by language teachers, linguists, journalists, publishers and politicians. They constitute an elite of French and the

non-French peoples which includes Africans. A serious problem exists between the African and the French francophonie elite over the recognition of an African spoken standard French.

If such recognition were granted to the Africans, who do not speak the language as it is spoken by Parisians, then the spoken standard used by the African elite would rapidly spread all over Africa (as is happening anyway), with serious consequences for the French government. To prevent this, the French francophonie elite must control the standard code that is taught in Africa. This means that the French government, through its various cooperative activities, should maintain control of the French language industry, i.e. research, teacher training, materials development, and most of the publishing services.

It can thus be seen that one of the reasons why English and French can hardly be regarded as African languages is that they are a prolongation of colonial links. The situation will probably not change significantly as long as the English and French language industries in Africa remain under the control of the former colonial powers.

4.3. A Triglossic Typology

A socio-linguistic typology can indicate the broad pattern of language use at the national level to serve as a basis for language education planning. The triglossic phenomenon performs this role for both socio-linguistic typology across national borders and language education planning. A widespread triglossic pattern of language communication is emerging whereby three distinct functional language types are used at three corresponding social levels. Inter-African[1] languages such as Arabic, English, French, Hausa and Swahili are used simultaneously at the

[1] The term inter-African is used in this study as a cover term for "inter-region" or "continental".

national and the inter-African levels. Other African languages of wider communication fulfilling some officially recognized functions are used at the provincial level. Finally, local vernaculars are used at the divisional and district levels. This triglossic pattern is recent and is socially influenced by the administrative, political, and economic organizations within the different countries and regions. These three hierarchical levels and their corresponding languages, are referred to as A, B, and C in Fig. 4.1, where the outer triangle denotes a given region and the inner triangle a given country. The subscripts (1) and (2) refer respectively to cross-national/regional border and internal languages. C languages are further subdivided into (a) written and (b) unwritten. There are fewer A languages than B languages and, in turn, fewer B than C languages. National languages fall within A and B categories and all official languages fall within the A category.

This study conducted a survey of the literature on the general uses of languages in selected African countries. The survey confirms the triglossic communication pattern and lists A and B languages. C languages are not listed but are tentatively referred to where data sources indicate language functions without specifying the language names. One important variable, cross-bordering, was used to assign subscripts to language types. The approximate number of cross-border languages is given in Table 4.1.

In that table, the symbol (+) attached to numbers indicates that those numbers could be increased. The estimated number of languages spoken in Africa, 1,270, derived from Welmers' (1971a) study, is more reliable than that presented by Grimes (1974), 1,741, because Grimes counted cross-border languages more than once.

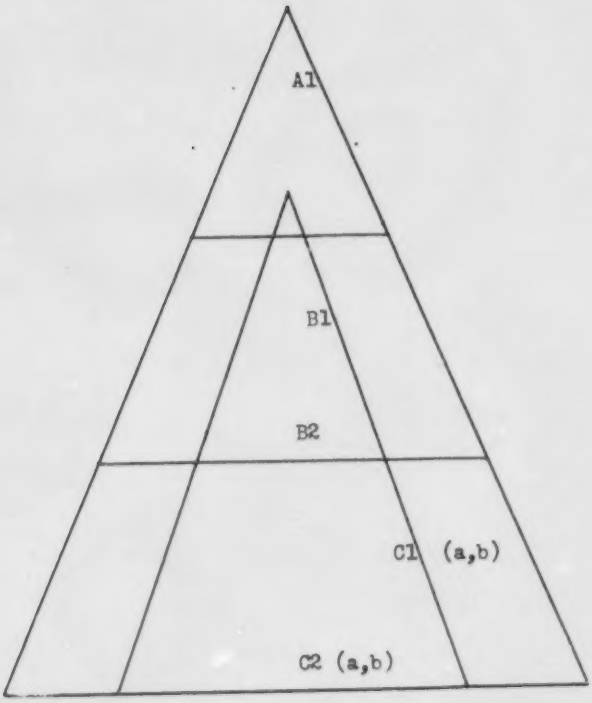


Fig. 4.1. A Socio-linguistic Typology of African Languages.

TABLE 4.1

DISTRIBUTION OF CROSS-BORDER
LANGUAGES SPOKEN IN AFRICA

Approximate Number of Languages in Africa	Approximate Number of Cross-Border Languages Spoken in at Least :			
	2 countries	3 countries	4 countries	5 countries
1,270	265+	38+	11+	9+

SOURCE : Welmers (1971a).

4.4. Language Education Practices and Policies as a Basis for a Model

Various studies (Unesco 1972b, 1976b ; Houis 1976 ; Sow 1977) have presented typologies of African language policies and situations as bases for discussing language education problems. The concern here is whether the existing policies and the nature of the general language education system suggest the emergence of a specific multilingual education model. The term general language education system refers to practices in both public and private schools in a given country. In many sub-Saharan countries, the curriculum is identical in both, except that private institutions may add subjects reflecting their particular area of interest, e.g. religious institutions usually add religious instruction. In francophone Africa, these private schools more closely reflect the societal pattern of language use than do the public ones. As a result, public schools tend to adopt the teaching practices successfully used in private ones.

In any African country, language education patterns have to be considered in two ways : as they are today (from a static point of view), and as they are most likely to be in the next decade (in perspective). This is because African countries are not satisfied with their educational systems, which were inherited from former colonial administrations and have not yet been completely reformed.

Since all African countries teach their respective official languages, three other language education policies and/or practices will be used as criteria for

classifying 38 countries. These criteria are : the teaching of indigenous de facto or de jure national languages, mother tongue education especially at the early primary level, and the teaching a second African language (as proposed in Ghana). The adoption of one or several indigenous national languages implies a policy for national language education.

Furthermore, in predominantly Arabic-speaking countries, the oral use of local Arabic as opposed to Classical Arabic is considered part of mother tongue education. The same consideration is given to the oral use of unrecognized mother tongues other than the national indigenous languages as supplementary media in non-Arabic speaking countries such as Sierra Leone and Zaire. The oral use of mother tongues as alternate media may be quite significant in terms of effectiveness, especially in the rural areas, when no official measures are taken to offset it.

Thus, the classification will be as follows : countries with indigenous national languages, a policy or generally-accepted practice of mother tongue education, and a requirement that every primary school pupil (including the native speakers of the national languages) learns a second indigenous language are listed under column (1) . Countries having national languages and a policy or general practice of mother tongue education at the early primary level are listed under column (2). Those with national languages but no policy or significant practice of mother tongue education, except tolerance vis-à-vis the limited practices of certain private schools are under column (3). The column (4) lists the countries with neither indigenous national languages nor significant mother tongue education practices or policy (again except tolerance). Finally, countries with no indigenous national languages, but which allow mother tongue education, are under column (5).

If a country falls de facto in any of these five categories, except that no official recognition of one of the specified criteria has been issued, then the country is listed parenthetically in that category. Furthermore, a question mark (?) precedes a country presently in a given category but which shows signs of soon moving into another unpredictable category. It is however predicted that such a move would be from columns under higher numbers to those under lower ones. The classification presented in Chart 4.1 is based on the information of sections (2.3) and (2.4).

In Chart 4.1, column (1) appears as an ideal since the only country listed parenthetically (Ghana) is tending towards a multilingual education system that meets the three specified criteria.

Twenty-two countries appear under column (2), which means that, de facto or de jure, they allow substantial mother tongue education and promote the teaching of indigenous national languages in addition to that of their respective official languages. In the countries listed parenthetically under this column, either no recognition of the de facto indigenous national language(s) has yet been promulgated, or the use of mother tongues other than the national language(s) is not officially recognized.

The question marks (?) in front of most countries under columns (3), (4) and (5) indicate that they are modifying important aspects of their language education, especially as regards the number of media from an individual pupil's perspective. Specifically, under column (4), it appears that having neither officially recognized indigenous national language(s) nor a policy or significant practice of mother tongue education is quite undesirable. Finally, under column (5), Sierra Leone occupies a temporary unique position that reflects its policy of simply allowing mother tongue education in the reduced form of supplementary oral use at the primary level, in addition to teaching English, the official language.

CHART 4.1

CLASSIFICATION OF 38 SELECTED AFRICAN COUNTRIES ACCORDING TO LANGUAGE EDUCATION PRACTICES AND/OR POLICIES

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
(Ghana)	(Algeria)	Benin	(?) Cameroon	(?) Sierra Leone
	Botswana	Central African Empire	(?) Chad)	
	Burundi		(?) Congo	
	Egypt	(?) Ethiopia	Gambia	
	Kenya	Guinea	(?) Ivory Coast	
	(Liberia)	(?) Mali	(?) Niger	
	Libya	(?) Senegal		
	Lesotho	Tanzania		
	Madagascar	Togo		
	Malawi			
	(Mauritania)			
	(Morocco)			
	Nigeria			
	Rwanda			
	Somalia			
	Sudan			
	(Swaziland)			
	Tunisia			
	Uganda			
	(Upper Volta)			
	Zaire			
	(Zambia			

In general, Chart 4.1 and the presentations in sections (2.3) and (2.4) show a general trend towards the following three media in primary schools : first, the official (foreign) language, which received primary emphasis, especially at the upper level ; second, the indigenous national language (which may also be the provincial language), receives a secondary emphasis although its role is rapidly increasing in certain countries ; finally, only a tertiary role is left to mother tongues other than the national languages. This tertiary role, due to the multiplicity of mother tongues, is reduced in some countries to the oral use as supplementary media of early primary education. There have been past attempts to prohibit this oral use. However, recent developments indicate that such efforts will decrease in the future.

4.5. A Functional Trilingual Model

The similarities of the current trends in language education reforms suggest the need for a functional trilingual education model involving a first language, a second African (national) language, and an official (foreign) language. Each is viewed here as a variable, but the particular languages can be specified for a given group countries, an individual country, province, or local community. The model is presented from the individual perspective, not as a full reflex of the individual's desire and language choice, but as a reflex of an emerging societal trilingualism beneficial to the individual.

The model is functional in that the language skills to be developed in each language must correspond to the predominant social functions that it actually serves. For example, some of the predominant functions of L1 are oral communication, culture transmission, formal socialization and basic literacy ; those of a second African language could be socialization and culture learning ; and those of the official language could be specialized communication (e.g. science and technology). These functions are stated here only as illustrations. The actual determination of

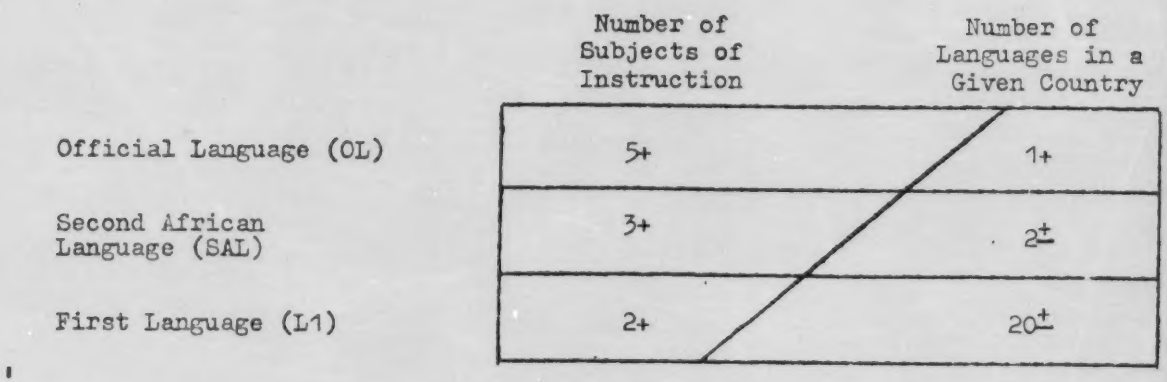
the functions of each language is a political decision of the political and educational authorities of the community concerned. Similarly, for a given language community, the specification of each language as variables is a political decision.

In principle, model functionality is best achieved by teaching the subjects related to the major social functions of each language through the medium of that language. However, in practice, the decision regarding the number of subjects in a given language can be made only by the competent authorities of the specific countries concerned because of the economic implications in terms of teacher training and materials development.

The proposed model is theoritical in that it is not intended for immediate application, but rather for policy formulation and implementation planning (see section 3.3). In other words, the model presents general principles to be adjusted to the specific conditions of a given country before implementation ; it may not be implementable in all cases.

Thus, the development of trilingual curricula in conformity with the proposed model is a long-range endeavour that requires research far beyond the scope of the present study. However, further detailed development of the proposed model can facilitate research on trilingual curricula. An initial step is the visualization of the model presented in Fig. 4.2.

The numbers in the left-hand trapezoid suggest a minimum of subjects that a country may plan to teach through the corresponding type of language. The symbol (+) indicates that those numbers could be increased. The numbers in the right-hand trapezoid stand for the minimum average number of languages in a given type that may be found in a given country. As indicated by the symbol ($\pm$), that average may be higher or lower depending upon the specific country considered. In general, Fig. 4.2 shows that the number of subjects would be in inverse



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Fog. 4.2. A Model for Functional Trilingual Education Planning in Africa.

proportion to the number of specific languages used as media of instruction. This proportion also reflects the monolingual or bilingual educational materials that one may plan to develop in each language type.

4.5.1. Arguments for the Model

Legitimate questions here are "Why a model ?" or "How beneficial is the model ?".

Generally, the term multilingualism is useful in discussing a linguistic situation involving more than two languages, but it is not in the planning of a multilingual education system because the term is nonspecific. One always has to consider the precise number of languages involved from the learner's point of view. Methodologically, the model forces the planner to do so.

However, model usefulness becomes apparent when considering the task of a language teacher in a multilingual context. A specific multilingual education model provides a unified frame of reference for teaching communicative skills. Thus, teachers trained for a bilingual or a trilingual education system can help each pupil to develop his whole bilingual or trilingual communicative repertoire. This repertoire includes various communicative skills (literacy skills, numerical manipulative skills, and nonverbal expressive skills) that are transferable from one language to another. A teacher will, therefore, create the appropriate environment within which these skills can develop.

A specific model also provides a basis for relating specific language functions to school subjects., For example, in Singapore, English is associated with science and technology, while the teaching of the three indigenous languages is associated with culturally oriented subjects (Newberry 1974). Within the proposed trilingual model, it may be determined that, for a particular linguistic area, local oral traditions would be more effectively taught at the primary level in a first language, national history and geography in a national/provincial language and

the other subjects in the official language. The determination is normally a political act to be made by a political entity (e.g., ministry of education, legislature, etc.), but ideally, it is not made independent of linguistic data. Once such a determination is made, the problem of beginning primary education in the first or the second language is reduced to pedagogical considerations associated with differences between urban and rural areas. The probable linguistic heterogeneity of the urban population suggests beginning with a second language and its related subjects and, later on, when pupils can transfer knowledge consciously from one language to another, moving on to first and third language requirements along with their associated subjects. Rural area of linguistic homogeneity makes it more appropriate to start with the first language.

A model may also be useful for the identification and development of the cultural content of education. It is now commonly accepted that the educational system, especially at the primary level, must transmit African culture rather than European culture. This is, in itself, an enormous task because of the wide diversity of African culture. The notion at the continental level is rather abstract because it refers to that which is common to many ethnic cultures and their related languages ; the same is substantially true at the national level. Teaching the indigenous culture associated with a given language unambiguously means teaching only one portion of the national culture but not necessarily its essentials.

What can be done, with maximum benefit, is to give each pupil access to an indigenous culture other than his own through the medium of a second African language. For example, Apronti (1972) states that in order to promote a better national integration in Ghana, Ghanians should be encouraged to learn second Ghanian languages. Boadi (1976:99) reports that the Ghanian Ministry of Education has proposed that "every child should be required to learn a second Ghanian language at the primary school level". This proposal is considered by the present study to

be a unifying principle which could be beneficial to many African countries.

If a primary school pupil has access to another indigenous culture not associated with his mother tongue through learning a second African language, one would anticipate that in learning his third language, i.e. the foreign official language, he may transfer into it the cultural content that he already has from the two others. This is assuming, as argued in Saville-Troike (1976) that a language is dissociable from the culture of those who speak it natively and therefore can be used to express any other culture.

Cultural content transfer can even be systematically planned through the development and use of bilingual materials. One might object here that pupils would be too restricted to their national culture. But, even if the teaching of a foreign official language is strictly confined to scientific and technological subjects, there still is a metaculture associated with them. Now, culture learning is neither inevitable nor universally desirable ; rather, it may occur under certain circumstances and it may or may not be desirable in terms of the objective underlying the implementation of political decisions. The pupils could therefore get access to that general culture lying outside their national culture. Culture learning , occurring in a variety of modes, reinforces the notion that a model for specific multilingual education can also serve for cultural integration.

Another important function of model involves language survey activities. Generally, systematic language planning for multilingual developing nations starts with a language survey.

The proposed trilingual model can interpret the available data on ongoing or completed surveys and determine both the educational objectives of future surveys and more importantly, the situation of a language area in terms of the functional multilingualism that exists or can be further developed. For example, the essential information issued by governments in the official languages must be translated into

all the indigenous languages to ensure compliance. A language survey could describe this pattern of communication so that it might be used more effectively for mass education. Another example is that of the spread of child bilingualism, trilingualism and even quadrilingualism observable in many African cities. Although urban schools are often thought of as being linguistically very heterogeneous, such multilingual development may tend to reduce seeming heterogeneity by providing a smaller set of languages for communication. As a result, the development of child multilingualism can be an important tool in decreasing the problems of first language education in urban schools.

Finally, a model serves to establish a balance of different language teaching functions and aids in evaluating teaching activities. The model would mean that the teaching of a specific language is no longer perceived as being more important than that of another language.

The language teacher would realize that the success of his pupils depends heavily on their ability to handle a wide range of communicative skills transferable from one language to another[1]. L2 and L3 teachers would need an assurance that certain basic communicative skills have already been mastered by the pupils in their L1s because many communicative skills acquired in L1 and L2 (presumably indigenous languages) may not be fully appropriate in L3 when L3 is a non-indigenous language. The amount of possible transfer here remains to be investigated. Ultimately, the success of a given teacher of a particular language would depend on how well the other language teachers in the same school do their work.

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1 For an interesting study of transfer of knowledge relevant to language education planning, see Ellis (1965) and Engle (1975).

4.5.2. Some Underlying Language Education Principles

The proposed trilingual model is based on certain principles of language education, especially those pertaining to second languages. These are the distinction between second language and foreign language, the methodological similarities between L2 and L3 learning and/or teaching, and the theory of attitudes and motivations in L2 larning.

4.5.2.1. Foreign versus Second Language

The distinction between foreign and second language is essentially environmental and methodological. A language is taught as a foreign language where it is neither regularly spoken nor regularly used as a medium of instruction. The learner's input is very limited and he does not have sufficient opportunity to be involved in the actual use of the language. A language is taught as a second language if its teaching takes place where that language is spoken (generally as a first language) on a daily basis and used as a medium of instruction. These two conditions increase learner input and offer the necessary opportunities to use the language. Methodologically, the teaching of a second language is more intense than that of a foreign language.

The official foreign languages used in Africa appear to have characteristics of both second and foreign languages, respectively, in the urban and rural areas. For example, French, taught in rural primary schools, may be considered a foreign language because of the limited pupil exposure, especially in the early classes. On the other hand, it may be considered a second language in urban schools because of its use by a few pupils as a first (home or peer group) language, as a medium of instruction and in various daily activities.

With regard to the second African languages in the proposed model (e.g., national/provincial languages), these should also meet the conditions for a second language. Their daily use and in the mass media (radio and television) increases

exposure among non-native speakers. Moreover, since most urban schools in a given province would have pupils who are native speakers of the second African language(s) being taught, peer group learning could be organized to facilitate the learning of the language by non-native speakers.

4.5.2.2. Methodological Similarities between L2 and L3

In an L2 environment, the language taught may actually be an L2 for some learners and an L3 for others. There are no research findings indicating that different methods should be used. However, it is possible that bilingual learners may use their previous experience to approach the L3 (LoCoco 1976 ; Gulutsan 1976).

Also, in a L2 teaching environment, some learners may have more than one L1[1], i.e., they may have relatively equal first language competence in two or three languages acquired in early childhood. Such cases are common in African cities. From a methodological point of view, there is little indication that a special L2 method should be used to teach such pupils, although they may, again, approach the second language differently than monolingual learners.

There may also be similar cognitive advantages associated with both bilingualism and trilingualism. Research (Peal & Lambert 1962:277-78) has indicated that, compared to monolingual children, balanced bilingual children display greater mental flexibility, a superiority in concept formation, and even a more diversified set of mental abilities. Cummins (1976) also indicates that there is evidence that, for children, becoming bilingual is associated with cognitive advantages. Although trilingualism is a least-studied aspect of multilingualism, cognitive advantages similar to, if

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[1] This view should be taken cautiously because the issue of whether one can have more than one first language is debatable.

not greater than, those associated with balanced bilingualism are probably associated with balanced trilingualism. Confirmation by future studies may lend further support to the proposed trilingual model.

4.5.2.3. Attitudes and Motivations in L2 Learning

Gardner and Lambert (1972) have demonstrated that attitudes and motivations are determining socio- psychological factors in L2 learning. Integrative motivations, i.e. learner desire to become a member of the community that speaks the target language natively, also contribute to successful L2 learning (Gardner & Lambert 1972:3).

The concept of both instfumental and integrative motivation (see section 5.7) underlies the proposal of second African languages in this study. It is suggested that, for people to be motivated to learn second African languages, African countries should, besides implementing a policy of national cultural integration, adopt one of advantages for higher degrees of multilingualism. In terms of job opportunities, this would mean that the more multilingual applicant for a given job would be preferred over the less multilingual one.

4.5.2.4. Language as a Major Component of Primary Education

Another important principle supporting the proposed model is that, as suggested by Fonlon (1963) with regard to primary schools in Cameroon, language learning should be the major component of primary education. There are several reasons for this. First, pre-puberty primary school children are better prepared than adults to learn second and third languages. Second, although there is a general trend towards making agricultural education the major component of primary schools and since African children are limited in their capacity to perform agricultural work, language will necessarily remain one subject that they are well prepared to master

at this level. Third, there are indications that, even today, the development of language skills (such as reading, writing, spelling, and various oral communicative skills) may occupy most of the primary school time table. This study undertook a tentative analysis of a sample time table[1] in the former West Cameroon. It indicated that approximately two-thirds of the time was devoted to developing language skills ; i.e. English language skills, since neither first nor third language education was part of the time table. The relative proportions might be different when indigenous languages are also involved, but they would not be if the language were French.

In summary, African language education planning should help authorities adopt, plan, and implement those policies that best prepare specific groups of learners to use language skills in specific languages for performing societal functions. This calls for a model that would be reflected in the educational system. The emerging triglossic pattern of language use and the trends in language education practices and policies (section 7.4) appear to generally satisfy this requirement of a model. The trilingual model (Fig. 4.2) was constructed to reflect this emerging pattern.

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[1] Momah, T., Personal communication, 1976.

CHAPTER V

THE FUNCTIONAL APPROACH TO LANGUAGE EDUCATION

This chapter reviews recent developments in the functional approach to language education, defined here as the development of language skills based on the predominant social functions (e.g., culture learning, science and technology) that the target language is intended to serve. Such development is not exclusively limited to the specified social functions, but these serve as the focus of language skills learning or teaching.

It is felt that if African countries adopt a strictly functional approach to language education, they would no longer need to impose severe restrictions on the number of languages of education. The functional approach permits these countries to use all the languages spoken in the continent.

5.1. Definition of Language Education

Language education, just like language planning, means different things to different people. For the less-developed countries, it usually means foreign language teaching in schools. This is more apparent in African countries that have inherited colonial languages for education and official purposes. It should be noted, however, that language education in Africa normally includes adult literacy.

It is, therefore, necessary to recognize that language education, in any context, involves the development of language skills (see below) that are often independent of each other to the extent that they can develop independently in given languages.

Language education consists of language use, language testing, and informal second language learning in a multilingual context. Diglossia, triglossia, or simply

polyglossia refer to the use of different language varieties or different languages for different functions. The socio-linguistic phenomena described by the terms further suggest that polyglossia is accompanied by the development of different language skills associated not only with different language varieties or languages but also with their functions (academic, professional or religious). For example, writing abilities in a foreign language do not necessarily correlate highly with speaking abilities. Turning to language testing, language abilities such as listening comprehension, speaking, reading, and writing have been measured independently[1]. This implies that these abilities are relatively independent components of language proficiency.

Even in a mother tongue, language abilities require specific training. Fishman (1976:39) notes that one cannot develop in a student's native language all language abilities for all its functions. This seems more applicable to written than to oral skills ; nevertheless in first, second or third language education, a decision must be made as to which language skills are to be primarily developed.

This language education can be defined as the differential development of at least such language skills as listening comprehension, speaking, reading, and writing. In a multilingual context, such development may be planned to correlate with the teaching of different languages, depending on the functional uses for which a given skill or a combination of skills are required. Figure 5.1 below attemps to visualize the above definition in a multilingual setting. The X's stand for unspecified constants requiring further investigation. However, in primary

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[1] It should be noted that this distinction of the four skills does not necessarily imply their separation. In fact, recent trends in language testing emphasize the measuring of the whole "communicative competence" rather than separate skills.

schools, any subject may be considered as a functional task. Functional tasks, $(FT_i)_j$, are those social activities in which the corresponding language skills are exercised. A specific functional task is, in turn, a variable involving distinct degrees of complexity. For example, listening comprehension of an unfamiliar or abstract topic may require a speaking speed slower than that required for a familiar or contextualized topic.

	Language Skills	No. of Lgs	Transferable Skills	$(FT_i)_j$
Receptive Skills	Listening Comprehension	n-1	$\underline{L1}$ - - - $\underline{Ln}$	$\frac{L1}{x}$ - - - $\frac{Ln}{x}$
	Reading	n	x x	x x
Productive Skills	Speaking	n-1		x x
	Writing	n	x x	x x

ABREVIATIONS :

FT = Functional tasks.

i = The specific task that a language skill is used to perform.

j = A specific degree of complexity in FT_i.

n = Maximum number of languages in which a given person develops the corresponding skills.

Lgs = Languages.

Fig. 5.1. Variables in Language Education in a Multilingual Setting.

5.2. Inadequacy of the Notion of Language as a Subject of Instruction in Africa.

African language education studies have adopted an unquestioned notion of language as a subject of instruction to refer to a language taught in school not as a medium of instruction. The multiplicity of languages brings this idea into question, especially in primary education.

The outdated grammar translation method of teaching foreign languages may have contributed to the maintenance of this notion. This method uses a first language to teach the grammar and vocabulary of a foreign language so as to enable the learner to translate texts from the foreign language to the first and vice versa.

Today, this notion is totally inadequate. First, it does not make the planner specify the societal goals set for the teaching of a particular language, language course or language skill. Second, it does not take into account important recent developments, such as the naturalistic approach to first-language education (characterized by the student-centred curriculum) and the functional approach to second and foreign language teaching. Third, if there is any reason for teaching a language as a subject, then this same reason must exist for using it as a functional medium of instruction for some subject, even if this is nothing but the language in question (e.g. its structure). Finally, the notion of language as subject apparently maintains the false idea that to teach a language means to teach its grammar or that only after the grammar has been successfully taught can the language be used as a medium of instruction. As a consequence, first language education in multilingual developing countries always stumbles on the obstacle of the lack of minority language grammars.

More adequate alternatives must be sought for African language education planning. Since grammar translation is still widely used in Africa, one must look at successful experiments elsewhere for such alternatives.

Bilingual education in Canada and the United States (Lambert & Tucker 1972; Swain 1974 ; Cohen 1975 ; Maltitz 1975) has demonstrated that a second language can be effectively taught when used as a medium of instruction for some school subjects. More recently, a Canadian experiment in trilingual education (Genesee et Al. 1976) has also shown that the same applies to a third language.

The proposed model uses the following definitions : in a bilingual or trilingual education system, if more subjects are taught within a given period of time in one language than in another, that language is the primary medium of instruction ; the language with the next highest number is the secondary medium of instruction ; and the language with the least subjects is called the tertiary medium of instruction. This proposed notion of primary versus secondary medium of instruction seems more adequate than that of language as a subject of instruction. The difficulties involved are purely methodological and can be handled through careful planning. Enough literature exists to offer the various ways.

Thus the notion of language as a subject of instruction should no longer confuse discussions on decision-making. For example, in francophone sub-Saharan Africa, the choice of an indigenous language as a medium of instruction is invariably linked with the choice of that language as a national or provincial language. This implies that once that choice is made, almost no consideration is given to the other languages of the province. This means that they are officially neglected, and their speakers are discontent.

The notion of primary and secondary media makes it possible to suggest that studies to aid language education policies be more concerned with identifying languages for use as primary, secondary, and tertiary media of instruction at specific educational levels than with identifying languages to be taught as subjects. This study excludes the notion of teaching languages in primary and secondary schools in Africa as subjects of instruction.

However, in initial L2 teaching, while L1 is still being used transitionally as a bridge to L2, the L2 may be considered as a subject of instruction. Similarly, in remedial courses, the L2 may be considered as a subject. Nevertheless, the instructional time for such courses should be short (e.g., less than a year at the primary or secondary level).

5.3. Definition of First Language (L1) Education in Africa

5.3.1. Recent Developments in L1 Education : Limitations of L1 Grammars

Progress in applied linguistics is likely to influence language education (Unesco, 1972[1]. For example, methods of first language education have been changing under the influence of findings in linguistics. Primary schools increasingly place less emphasis on the teaching of grammar per se.

In the United States, one recent large-scale attempt to apply the generative transformational theory to the teaching of English in grade schools is known as the Roberts English Series : A Linguistic Program. This programme aims at systematically improving children's writing, spelling, reading, and effective speaking through a seven-year course. Unfortunately, the Roberts programme has not been successful. Critics assert that it was a blind application of an initial theory in need of important refinements.

Many American educators have been turning to the British primary and secondary school models for the development of their English language programmes in grade schools. These British models suggest a naturalistic approach, characterized by the student-centred curriculum.

... An American study team visited many British schools and reached the following conclusions about the basic principles that were observed. There was (1) a deemphasis on content in favour of individual programmes of experience and growth ; (2) a heavy emphasis on creative uses of language ; (3) formal, direct

instruction replaced by informal activity sessions ; and (4) speech and oral language dominant in the lower forms.

Language education planners in developing countries should be fully aware of these developments in order to avoid two dangers : (1) an unnecessary over-emphasis of L1 grammars ; and (2) the maintenance of ineffective and outdated teaching methods.

The teaching of grammar is such a tradition in Western educational systems that to question its usefulness hardly occurred to most language education planners. This tradition influenced African language education planning. For example, the production of descriptive and pedagogical grammars on African languages is among the priorities of Unesco's (1972b) 10-year plan for the study of African oral tradition and the promotion of African languages as media of life-long education. Yet anyone familiar with studies and experiments in first and second language acquisition doubts the usefulness of pedagogical grammars, especially in primary schools.

The question is crucial in Africa since the indigenous language grammars are generally written in a foreign official language. In primary schools, this general constraint largely limits their use to teachers who already know the official language. Even if grammars were written in indigenous languages, they would be limited to the people who can read these languages. The actual writing of indigenous language grammars is also restricted by the lack of adequate linguistic technical terminology in these languages.

It thus appears that there are severe limitations in the use of grammars for L1 education, particularly for primary schools. It should be noted however that competent linguists are needed to train student teachers so that, working in their own or related languages, they may become fully aware of the grammatical mechanisms of these languages. Such an awareness would be of value later on, especially at the

primary level. Perhaps a few aspects of language skills will still need to be taught to the children with constant reference to such grammatical paradigms as conjugation and noun classes, but this is a concern for material developers, who should work closely with teacher trainers and student teachers.

Grammars are useful as referential aids in teaching second and third languages to postpuberty students, e.g. in most secondary schools. While the L2 or L3 is being used as a secondary or tertiary medium for teaching a specified subject matter, its grammatical rules are frequently referred to when the need arises. In this perspective, lessons are to be ordered according to the subject matters or the desired language skills.

5.3.2. Towards an Alternative L1 Education

Attention is here focused on three basic components of L1 education in multilingual countries : cultural expression, oral communication and basic literacy.

Cultural expression means the modes of expressing the experiences and world views associated with a given L1 and its culture. In Africa, these are mostly the various oral traditions which are now being put into written form. Every African child should learn the cultural heritage associated with his first language.

Turning to oral communication, while children generally acquire structural control of L1 early on, no child enters primary school with a full mastery of its functional uses (Saville & Troike 1971). He normally knows the basic grammar and a limited set of vocabulary, but he has virtually no reliable command of the effective uses. That is why, even in monolingual schools, they still have to learn such oral arts as story telling, activity descriptions, problem solving, and dramatization in their first language. These language uses are referred to here as oral communicative skills.

Basic literacy skills comprise the mastery of (a) the sound-letter correspondences, which, in turn, enable one to associate a phoneme and a grapheme consistently ; (b) recognition of the written word, which enables one to associate morphemes with graphemes ; (c) basic arithmetic computations; and (d) other general symbolic representations such as diagrams. These skills also develop the ability to use the universal ideographic representations that are part of the language of science and technology. The mastery of the above skills includes that of both reading and writing in the first language.

Control of the skills involved in the three basic components generally facilitates L2 and L3 learning. However, the exact process of transfer (as a function of learning enhancement) is not yet clearly understood through experimental research, but some transfer does occur (Engle, 1975). In a multilingual education system, an important problem connected with this transfer is whether it is more effective to start instruction in the L1 or directly in the L2. After reviewing the research findings, Engle concluded that no definite answer can be given. However, the successes in Canada and the United States indicate that, given the appropriate context, both methods should be effective. In fact, there is strong evidence that the real problem is the ultimate balance between competence in the first and in the second language. Cummins (1976) shows that beginning instruction in an L2 is detrimental to children only if it is taught at the cost of (decreasing functional competence in) the L1.

Cummins attempts to reconcile the apparent contradiction between recent studies that have shown that bilingualism has positive cognitive consequences, and earlier ones that indicated that bilingualism may negatively affect the cognitive and scholastic progress or children. He feels that the more " recent studies involved balanced bilinguals and were carried out in 'additive' bilingual settings" where the bilingual subjects " have attained a high level of competence in L2 at no cost to their level of competence in L1. However, earlier studies tended to involve bilingual subjects from language minority groups whose L1 was

gradually being replaced by their L2". Cummins then suggests that "the level of linguistic competence attained by a bilingual child may mediate the effects of his bilingual learning experiences on cognitive growth.... Specifically, there may be a threshold level of linguistic competence which a bilingual child must attain both in order to avoid cognitive deficits and allow the potentially beneficial aspects of becoming bilingual to affect his cognitive functioning"(pp 36-37). However, he does not specify what level constitutes that threshold. A thorough mastery of the three L1 components seems to constitute a level that supports the development of a reasonably balanced bilingualism in the context of bilingual education.

Cummins's conclusions may explain why French, for example, although both taught as a L2 and used as a medium of instruction from the early years of primary education in the francophone countries, is still very badly known by the majority of pupils at the end of primary school (seven years) and even up to the middle of secondary school. In these countries, French has generally been taught at the cost of the L1s that children speak when they first enter primary school. As a result, many students speak their own mother tongues poorly. While speaking L1, they code switch and use so many French words and phrases that one wonders how their own illiterate and non-French-speaking parents understand them. Also, the scholastic achievements are not encouraging. On the contrary, many pupils repeat the same classes. Rural children are hardly able to express themselves in French and, even after six or seven years in school, their personal letters in French are barely intelligible. It is not that they are mentally retarded, but that their medium of instruction is a handicap. There is an imbalance in their developing bilingualism ; what they gain in French, they often lose in their L1. They generally fail to transfer knowledge back and forth from one medium (L1) to the other (French).

Bilingual education involving an African language and French is generally seen as the way out (Houis 1967, 1976 ; Calvet 1974). However, as suggested

here, the situation is not that simple. Given the current prevailing trend towards selecting and teaching indigenous national languages, it is hoped that a functionally balanced system of trilingual education could be a more adequate solution.

5.4. A Brief Historical Review of the Functional Approach to Second Language (L2) Teaching

This section and the two subsequent ones review the literature on a developing approach to L2 teaching. The approach, directed towards adult learners, is a functional one because of its two basic assumptions. The first states that L2 teaching should be oriented towards the actual use to which it will be put. The second maintains that the learning process would be significantly facilitated if the student learns L2 within a context in which he is interested and most likely to use L2.

However, these two assumptions have not been thoroughly tested and are reformulated here as hypotheses for a review of the literature on the functionaly approach to L2 teaching.

Hypothesis 1 : Content Relevance

If the content of the L2 teaching materials is related to those areas in which the learner is interested and most likely to use L2, the learning process will be significantly easier and better performance may result.

Hypothesis 2 : Focus on Specific Communicative Abilities

The learner's L2 proficiency may quicken if the learning activities are oriented towards developing the specific communicative abilities appropriate to the learner's areas of interest and probability of use.

The second hypothesis predicts that a given area of interest would trigger the development of corresponding specific communicative abilities so that the learner's total proficiency would develop in the various areas covered. There would be overlapping, which would play an important role in developing general

proficiency. This suggestion is reflected in most of the L2 teaching materials consulted.

The two hypotheses , while closely related, are kept distinct because not all functional L2 teaching programmes explicitly conform to both. Some programmes develop and teach specific vocabularies, thus conforming to Hypothesis 1, but do not deal explicitly with the development of specific abilities. The reverse process is generally not practical, but the degree of conformity of the L2 programmes to Hypothesis 2 varies according to the diversity of the students' areas of interest.

Titone (1968) reviewed the methods of foreign language teaching from ancient times to the date of his study (see also Kelly 1969). Some of the teaching methods presented implicitly assume one or both of the hypotheses.

The report reveals a full bilingual programme (Fishman & Lovas 1972) that is consistent with both of the above hypotheses. Since ancient times, foreign language teaching methods have alternated between progress and decline. Titone outlines the contributions of various teachers and linguists. Titone's review of modern teaching methods, especially in the 1960s, distinguishes three approaches. First, there is the formal approach, which underlies such methods as grammar translation (a focus on developing learner ability to translate from L1 to L2 and vice versa) and the reading method (decoding of written L2 by means of knowledge of its vocabulary and formal grammar). Second, under the functional approach, Titone includes the direct methods, the intensive methods, the audiovisual and the audiolingual methods, and the linguistic (anthropological) method. His conclusion is that theory and experience show that none of these methods is completely satisfactory and proposes the integrated approach, which "ought to be derived from (1) a scientific linguistic and anthropological analysis of language in general and of the specific

language to be taught, (2) a psycholinguistic analysis of the process of the second language learning, (3) a definition of the specific objectives to be attained by a particular course of language study, and (4) the results of both a general theory of teaching experience and experimentation in foreign language teaching (p.111).

However, Titone presents no clear incompatibility between the integrated and the functional approach. It is, therefore, necessary to define clearly a functional a approach to L2 teaching.

Such a definition is offered by David Smith (1972:62), who writes that language is a social phenomenon that fulfills three categories of adaptive functions. First, the communicative functions, i.e. the uses of language for social interaction ; second, the integrative functions which refer to language uses to assign social identities to social groups and which express these identities ; and third, the expressive function which is language use to meet certain psychological needs - individual needs expressed in monologues or interpersonal encounters. Smith shows that languages are structured to meet some or all of these needs. The communicative functions are those that every language, pidgins included, must meet. Smith argues that various developments are occurring in sociolinguistics, psycholinguistics, and anthropological linguistics on the assumption "that language must be understood as a social phenomenon" (p.67). He demonstrates that this functional view has important implications for the understanding of language features, of multilingualism, and of language learning.

A functional definition may be represented by the following formula :

$$f\ (S,L) = C$$

where f is a rule-governed relation between a given social or nonverbal variable (S), and a corresponding linguistic variable (L), and where C stands for a given communicative event resulting from a combination of the elements of the first part

of the equation. This formula is a highly abstract device. What it really represents would depend on the specific aspects of language and contexts under consideration.

Given the above formula, it becomes clear that our two hypotheses are based on the social variable S. Thus, a strictly functional L2 approach is one that systematically links the teaching of L2 forms to such social variables as the contexts in which they are to be used.

The functional view suggests that L2 materials would be granted not on the basis of formal grammar but rather on that of areas of interest and probable use. The grammatical variables involved in dealing with a specific area would be presented as the need arose and later reviewed when they appeared in different areas.

5.5. Some Examples of L2 Programmes Based on the Subject Content

Recent developments of L2 materials primarily assume the hypothesis of content relevance. A clear example is the development and teaching of special vocabularies, particularly in connection with English as a foreign language (EFL) and French as a foreign language.

Ewer and Hughes-David (1974) present a list of words of high-frequency occurence in scientific, technical and technological English. The list is compiled from text books on laboratory workshop practice and maintenance manuals, and other sources. The vocabulary is proposed for use at the University of Chile at Santiago (Department of English), in a special course for students of science and technology. An evaluation of the programme was not reported by the authors. Similarly, Martin (1976) proposes a method of teaching the vocabulary of research process, analysis, and evaluation to the intermediate and advanced EFL students.

A further development of specific vocabularies has been made for the teaching of French as a foreign language. Within a special programme called "Français fonda-

mental", a general French vocabulary (Gougenheim et al. 1964) is now used in a variety of literature for readers with limited knowledge of French (David 1975). A basic French vocabulary of 850 words has also been prepared (Prévost 1969) and is used in beginning French courses in both French-speaking and English-speaking countries of Africa.

The use of special vocabularies is not a full L2 teaching programme. There are materials designed to increase the professional proficiency of L2 learners, especially in EFL. This is already an implicit assumption of Hypothesis 2, with the assumption that the learner somehow already has the knowledge of the basic L2 grammar. Some examples of these materials are given below.

First, there is a series called Special English,[1] designed to teach non-native speakers the idioms and technical terminology used in professional fields. Emphasis is on the spoken language. Thus, all the lessons in each book are supplemented by pre-recorded tapes. The series now covers agriculture (three books), aviation (two books), aviational mechanics (one book), banking (one book), engineering (two books), international trade (one book), journalism (two books), and medicine (three books).

The series assumes a knowledge of basic English. The lessons follow a very simple format that is adaptable to specific subjects and includes a reading passage and/or a dialogue, terminology practice (definition and use of new words in appropriate grammatical contexts), and exercises for classroom work or home study. A key to each exercise is also provided. Numerous illustrations make the text meaningful and interesting. The series simply assumes the necessity of developing professional proficiency in English.

Another series is called English Study Series. For a sample book, see Adamson and Love (1973). In general, the novelty is to put emphasis on teaching/learning English within a given academic area. The organization of the book as well as the exercises do not conform to any particularly new theory of second language teaching or learning.

1 Published by English Language Services, Inc., Washington D.C., as part of Collier-Macmillan English Program, New-York.

5.6. Examples of L2 Programmes Based on Both Subject Content and Communicative Abilities

The discussion will now turn to the literature on those programmes that assume Hypothesis 2 and justify it either on theoretical grounds or because the students themselves show a greater motivation for it.

One such programme is the English Language Program 5ELP) at the World Bank in Washington, D.C. (Garcia-Zamor & Krowitz 1975). It is primarily intended to develop those communicative abilities that the learners need in order to perform their jobs properly. These communicative abilities are directly derived from a job analysis and are presented as specific communicative tasks or functional language abilities. A summary of the programme is presented in Chart 5.1.

The programme does not necessarily assume a previous overt knowledge of L2 grammar (although it does assume some familiarity with L2). This indicated that Hypothesis 2 can properly underlie an L2 teaching programme right from the beginning.

The essential ideas of the theoretical discussions on specific communicative abilities in L2 are found in the English for Science and Technology (EST) literature.

Widdowson (1975) shows that two current approaches to language analysis (the operational and the theoretical) cannot have positive effects on the development of EST.

The first (the operational approach) leads to register analysis. Sample texts and actual discourse related to a given field are analysed. The relative frequency of occurence of certain lexical units and syntactic units, patterns, and rules is then established. The specification of linguistic elements depends on the descriptive model being used. This approach fails to indicate how the language system is realized qualitatively in specific instances as a communicative activity.

The second, (the theoretical approach) assumes that communicative competence cannot be incorporated into a generative grammar since the latter was not developed

CHART 5.1

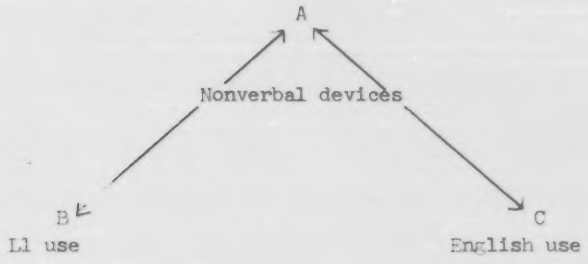
ELP FUNCTIONAL LANGUAGE ABILITIES

English Proficiency Levels	Job	Communicative Tasks	
		Oral Abilities	Writing Abilities
1	Messenger; chauffeur; machine operator; clerk.	Ability to understand simple routine instructions.	Use of the English graphic system.
2	Clerk-typist; records clerk; keypunch operator; accounts clerk; statistical clerk.	Ability to understand routine instructions and give simple oral responses.	Ability to copy from one medium to another.
3	Secretary; accountant; research, statistical, administrative assistant.	Ability to communicate appropriately in small group situations.	Ability to handle routine tasks; writing short memos, copying prepared texts, writing routine business correspondence, etc.
4	Young professional; loan officer; researcher; supervisor; technical specialist, etc.	Ability to conceptualize.	Ability to communicate properly and accurately in writing.
5	Senior loan officer; division chief; director; senior advisor; program generalist.	Ability to be conceptually creative.	Writing ability to conceptualize.

Adapted from García-Zamor & Krowitz (1975).

for such a purpose. But it also assumes that one cannot teach communicative competence until a description exists. Thus, EST programmes should await an appropriate description of scientific discourse on which they should be based. According to Widdowson, both approaches make two faulty assumptions : (1) that the learner has little or no previous knowledge of language use in scientific communication, and (2) that what is learned has to be explicitly taught.

Widdowson then suggests the need to assume a universal similarity of scientific communication systems in all languages. As a result, EST programmes should be based on an information transfer theory using such nonverbal devices as diagrams and graphs as points of reference for verbal realization of concepts and procedures known by the learner. This approach leads him to a three-way translation operation :



Nonverbal devices help to relate the three ways of expressing the same basic concepts and procedures. They show the learner how English is used in the same way as his native language and, in particular, how English is used in specific acts of communication within the communicative system of science.

Working along a similar lines, Candlin et al. (1975:8) point out that conceptual techniques are used by scientists to talk about science.

With regard to Widdowson's principle of information transfer, many things that can be said in a language can be simplified and presented as diagrams and graphs.

Thus, these theoretical discussions show that EST teaching must assume that a great deal of scientific patterns of thought (or simply scientific information) is directly transferred from L1 to English. The process does not appear to be linked only to English as L2. It may therefore be presumed that information transfer probably takes place in any L2 learning situations where the concepts handled in L2 are already known by the learner and are naturally used for performing relevant communicative acts. Information transfer is extensively applied in special English materials for a new series called English in Focus. Examples can be found in the teacher's edition of English in Physical Science by Allen and Widdowson (1974) or in English in Basic Medical Science by MacLean (1975).

5.7. Trends Towards a Functional Approach to Language Education

The strict functional approach to L2 teaching is a new one that is best known as English for Special Purposes, possessing the potential of beneficially influencing the planning of language education. This trend, while slow, is quite promising.

H.D. Brown (1975:82-84) writes that language teaching in the United States is likely to take the following directions within the next 25 years : (1) a reduced role of theoretical linguistics as a primary contributor to teaching methodology ; (2) an increase in rigorous, experimental research on L2 acquisition with implications for methodology ; (3) a recognition of individual variations among learners leading to a search for alternatives to the traditional language classroom ; and (4) variables within the psychological domains of cognition and affect which are being incorporated into teaching/learning methods.

A functional view of language could warrant useful theoretical analyses, especially in the area of discourse. In fact, discourse analysis is better suited to the strictly functional approach by providing discourse descriptions of various academic as well as nonacademic fields.

The functional approach is being adopted by developing countries because it is consistent with recent theories and research findings in L2 learning. An article by Rubin (1975) presents seven strategies characterizing the good learner. The good learner is a willing and accurate guesser with a strong drive to communicate or learn from communication. He is often not inhibited and is prepared to attend to form ; he is willing to practice ; he monitors his own speech and that of others, and attends to meaning, to the context of speech acts, to the rules of speaking, and to the mood of speech acts. The last suggests that a good learner does approach L2 functionally as he learns all the other contextual rules that accompany linguistic utterances (see also Cohen 1976).

Moreover, the strictly functional approach is consistent with the notion of attitudes and motivations in L2 learning (Gardner & Lambert 1972). The theory, as presented by Gardner and Lambert, is "..that the successful learner of a second language must be psychologically prepared to adopt various aspects of behaviour which characterize members of another linguistic-cultural group. His ethnocentric tendencies and attitudes towards the other group are believed to determine how successful he will be in learning the new language. His motivation is thought to be determined by his attitudes towards the other group in particular and towards foreigners in general and by his orientation towards the learning task itself. The orientation is <u>instrumental</u> in form if language study reflects the more utilitarian value of linguistic achievement, such as getting ahead in one's occupation. The orientation is <u>integrative</u>, however, if the student wishes to learn more about the other cultural community because he is interested in it to the point of eventually being accepted as a member of that other group.

Thus, in a multilingual context, a strictly functional approach may correlate three factors : (1) the development of different language skills in different languages ; (2) the linking of specific language skills with the functions that are relevant in specific languages for a given learning group ; and (3) the linking of relevant language functions in specific languages with specific content subjects in primary school (Newberry 1974) and in adult literacy programmes.

CHAPTER VI

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE TRILINGUAL MODEL FOR POSTPRIMARY EDUCATION AND ADULT LITERACY IN AFRICA

6.1. Secondary Education and Institutions of Higher Education

Although the proposed trilingual model is intended for primary education, it has important implications for secondary and higher education.

6.1.1. Secondary Education

Usually, secondary school entry in Africa means starting to learn at least one major world language. In a francophone country, it would generally be English, while in an anglophone country, it would generally be French. Recently, however, in Ghana, Nigeria, and Tanzania, there has been the gradual introduction of one or several indigenous languages.

Another characteristic of secondary schools is that most students are multilingual. They are at least bilingual in their mother tongue and in the official language. They are not biliterate, since the majority of them in francophone countries do not have the opportunity to learn how to read and write in their own mother tongues.

For the individual student, the secondary school situation may be at least that of trilingualism, involving the mother tongue (L1), the official language (L2), and the newly-introduced world language (L3). As regards the educational system, even if languages are taught functionally at the secondary level, the result would be either bilingual or trilingual education, depending on the country's educational policy. For example, in Tanzania, a new language introduced and taught functionally at the secondary level would result in a trilingual education involving Swahili, English, and the new language. But in a country without a policy of teaching an

indigenous language at the secondary level, its educational system would largely be bilingual.

With regard to first language education at the secondary level, if its requirements are not met at the primary level by some entering students, a personalized programme teaching basic literacy skills in L1 can be effectively organized. At this level, there is less difficulty in transferring literacy skills from a L2 to a L1.

Turning to L3 teaching, two types of teachers are distinguishable, namely L3 teachers and the rest. To teach L3 functionally means that teachers would actually have to use the language to discuss aspects of various academic disciplines. This could be done by discussing only those academic areas that are taught at a lower level. This would avoid difficulties related to subject content since such content would have already been known from previous years. Once a basic communication can be handled in L3 using a known content, then new subjects could be gradually introduced directly in L3. In the interim, new subjects would continue to be introduced in L2.

This approach would require careful training of L3 teachers. Such training calls for an emphasis on the actual use of L3 in the various academic areas. It is also possible to plan L3 teaching so that at least one academic subject is actually taught in it. One way of doing this is to ensure that, if L3 is an official language in the neighbouring country, the subject related to that country (history, geography, etc) is taught in L3. Ultimately, an ordinary test of L3 would have two differential scores : one for the ability to use the language form, and the other for the accuracy in treating subject matter, the relative emphasis depending on the relative stress at a given point in the learning calendar. If a subject is taught only in L3, there would be two separate scores : one for the language form and the other for the mastery of the subject.

Turning to the non-L3 teachers, i.e. those using the official language (L2) as the medium of instruction, they too would need to be more aware of the specific uses

of the L2 in their respective fields. Thus, the language of mathematics, science, history, economics, etc. would have to be so characterized that the non-L3 teachers would reinforce language use along with subject content (as opposed to the current practice where language use is allocated exclusively to the language classroom and ignored in subject content classes. Ultimately, a non-L3 teacher would test his students on both their mastery of the subject and their mastery of the particular language use required by it.

The above process would result in gradually functionalizing L2 teaching. Thus, there would be less need for listing the L2 as a subject of instruction. Currently, when these are subjects, most of the teaching time is spent on their structures and the culture of their native speakers (generally the British and French cultures).

6.1.2. The Role of Institutions of Higher Education

With regard to higher education, various programmes of L2 teaching were presented in chapter V to illustrate the functional approach to language education. It is hoped that more African universities will be interested in developing similar programmes.

Since it is expected that the application of a functional approach at the secondary level would lead to better results, it may also be expected that non-language majors and institutions of higher education would have a lighter burden of L2 and L3 teaching. Thus, the trilingual model is actually indicating the problems that linguistics could help to solve. Some of these are given here in descending order of urgency : linguistic training for primary school teacher trainers and materials developers ; L3 teacher-training for secondary schools and training in the functional use of the official language for other secondary school teachers ; literacy teacher training ; linguistic research intended to facilitate multilingual communication in specific societal activities (agriculture, mass media,

medicine, etc.) ; and many other areas of socio- and psycholinguistics.

6.2. Large-Scale Adult Functional Literacy

For many years to come, adult literacy will remain the major component of nonformal education goals in Africa. Language education planners will have to give greater attention to literacy problems, especially to the crucial one of developing literacy programmes for linguistic minority groups.

Adult literacy has had two general orientations : traditional or rudimentary literacy campaigns and functional literacy campaigns. The first, deeply influenced by missionaries such as Frank Laubach (Mason 1965), emphasized the teaching of reading, writing, and computation skills. The second orientation,developed mostly in the early 1960s, was led by Unesco (Unesco 1965, 1973a, 1973b). Its emphasis was on linking the ability to read, write, and compute with the actual performance of daily activities. This is why it is termed functional.

The traditional literacy campaign, while successful, was handicapped by lack of resources to produce and distribute follow-up materials. The second approach has also been highly successful, but it has been limited to larger speech communities, especially to those in geographic areas with some nationally-supported economic project. One serious shortcoming of both is that they have favoured a monolingual view of literacy in multilingual nations.This has reinforced the trend towards excluding linguistic minority groups from literacy projects. Note, however, that the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL) has followed a bilingual literacy policy (Gudschinsky 1976:22-28) emphasizing literacy in minority unwritten languages around the world.

The creation of a literate society is the ultimate goal of any literacy project. This is also the common goal of contemporary language education in Africa. For many African literates, especially in the francophone countries, literacy skills have

been associated with the learning of a foreign language. Even in certain anglophone schools, indigenous language teaching was limited to oral skills, so that literacy skills were learned only in English. One reason for this is that even when Lls were available in written form, their status was so low that most teachers tended to move to the official language as soon as possible.

The proposed model suggests that an individual African needs literacy skills in three languages : an indigenous Ll, a second African (national) language, and an official (foreign) language. However, literacy skills may often be necessary in only the Ll and the official language.

However, there are problems with respect to Ll literacy. Some stem from the fact that many Lls do not have written forms. As a result, alphabet development, lexicon, and standardization do need to be addressed with respect to unwritten Lls. The same applies to economic issues related to the reduction of unwritten Lls to writing. Granted that at least some of these problems can be dealt with (see Chapter VII), it is possible for the moment to disregard them and proceed with the discussion of multilingual functional literacy.

There are several reasons why a multilingual approach is needed. First, literacy in official (foreign) languages is needed by a relatively young population eager to know these languages. (Weinstein 1976 ; INADES 1975). In fact, their rejection is more characteristic of the African elite than of the masses. However, these masses tend to accept the foreign languages in an attitude of submissive cultural inferiority. Second, for many young adults, literacy would be remedial, because many of them have attended primary school, but they have partially lost their learned literacy skills as a result of not using them regularly. Third, literacy work should normally be based on the concept of a multiliterate African society founded on the actual triglossic pattern of societal language use . Ideally, individuals here would be specifically triliterate. Fourth, literacy should ideally lead to continuing

education, which for minority groups could be conducted in a second African language or in an official foreign language.

One major problem in today's functional literacy is the lack of an adequate definition of functionality. The notion needs to be broadly defined to include the political, economic, social, and cultural dimensions of literacy activities (Unesco 1976a). More importantly, it has to reflect the long-range goal of creating a literate society. Therefore, an important step towards such a definition is to identify the basic everyday reading and writing tasks characteristic of a literate society (Laubach et al. 1976).

Based on an informal observation made for this study that in a literate society everybody, especially above the age of 15, is presumed to be able to :

- Spell out or sign his name.
- Use such numerical information as telephone numbers and many other reference numbers.
- Use calendars.
- Give one's address, date, and place of birth.
- Follow diagrammed information (e.g. maps, street and highway signs, and simple mechanical diagrams).
- Fill out various application forms.
- Do various household and business-related computations in order to maintain a balanced family budget.
- Use a cheque book and keep personal accounts.
- Read and understand advertisements.
- Read and follow simplified instructions.
- Read and understand the legal and other personal papers that one is required by law to carry.
- Read price tags.

- Write personal or business letters.
- Read, understand, and sign various contracts.
- Read a newspaper, magazine, or book.

The above list indicates that the things to be read are more numerous than the things to be written and is characteristic mainly of the more developed nations or urban areas in the less-developed countries. A large-scale literacy campaign should use these tasks as its representative goals. Such an effort is possible for the majority of people if each of them can read and write in his L1, perform required daily reading and writing tasks in the official language, and regularly read follow-up materials to maintain literacy skills. Since there is no major difficulty involved in learning to read and write in an L1 available in written form, attention will be focused on the last two aspects.

The daily requirements of reading and writing in the official language are discussed in the next section. Hence, only the problem of follow-up materials is considered here. An increasing number of monthly rural newspapers for new literates have appeared being established in African countries. These newspapers, issued by various government ministries, have been aided in their establishment by Unesco.

Unfortunately such of follow-up material are monolingual. It would be more appropriate to offer bilingual follow-up materials in a given indigenous language and an official (or even a national) language. An obvious justification for monolingual materials is that literacy is conceived from a monolingual view. But this restricts farmers to their limited linguistic world. Many African farmers are very interested in knowing the official languages of their countries. And surprising as it may seem, they often ask questions such as : "Why should I learn to read and write in my own language ?" and "What job opportunities are there in reading and writing in one's own language ?".

In some cases, the questions are defensive to counter the failure to learn ; in others, they are asked by older adults who are past the age of being willing to learn. The very existence of such questions suggests that an important part of a literacy campaign is the development of strategies to convince some adults that Ll literacy is useful. However, many of them do realize that literacy skills are useful for various daily tasks. Therefore their legitimate desires could effectively be satisfied through a policy of multilingual functional literacy.

An important way of doing this is through bilingual follow-up materials. There are bilingual newspapers in Lesotho, Nigeria, Tanzania, and other countries. Similarly, trilingual monthly agricultural periodicals are published in Namibia (Unesco 1975). Another argument for bilingual follow-up materials is that these could serve as a link between the primary schools and the community. Primary education is terminal for most African children. In addition, they leave school without having developed a reading habit (Bamberger 1975) that is strong enough to maintain much beyond the school years. Thus, follow-up literacy materials introduced at the upper level of primary school would promote the type of reading habit needed most by those pupils who will soon join the adult community.More importantly, such materials in primary school would oblige teachers to update their educational information continuously so that they taught the things immediately relevant to the community.

The following are suggestions for the planning of follow-up literacy materials :

1. A general policy of bilingual publications should be carefully studied and implemented. This policy could be extended to many types of publications other than follow-up literacy materials (e.g., most indigenous language dictionaries are bilingual : i.e., with glosses in the official foreign languages). In addition, the recording and printing of African oral traditions for wider readerships often require bilingual versions (Binam Bikoi 1977).

2. Follow-up literacy materials should be introduced at the upper level of primary schools to serve as a link between the schools and the communities.

3. Where the first two conditions are met, it may be highly advantageous to organize indigenous language committees containing primary school teachers . The latter would be responsible for the translation and editing of the monthly materials. They would also be in the best position to deal with problems of standardization in their Ll.

The following hypothetical functional literacy plan, if implemented in most African countries, could result in the development of large-scale literacy and eventually in the emergence of a literate society. In a densely multilingual nation, a very flexible multilingual literacy plan is needed. This flexibility should be reflected in the monthly bilingual follow-up materials. Such materials might, for example, be four-page leaflets in the official or national language and in as many first languages as possible. They could be used at the upper level of primary school and, if need be, remedially in the first year of secondary school. The number of readers in a given first language would determine the choice of the common national language to be used if the official language is not used. The starting point would be the most developed first languages with texts drawn from such subjects as health, agriculture, civics and oral traditions. There would be no initial limitations imposed on the number of indigenous first languages that would ultimately be used but would depend on time and the availability of resources. Another factor would be the pattern of language shift confirmed by sociolinguistic surveys.

Economically, such a programme would require initial limited resources and could develop into a relatively self-supporting enterprise. Should it fail, damage might not be too serious compared to what the consequences of the failure of a textbook would be. Nonetheless, chances of failure would be small since the producing team would constantly use reader feedback as input for subsequent issues. These

producing teams could be part of the aforementioned language committees composed of teachers and laymen. Since they are conceived as basically local teams (assisted by highly qualified linguists at the national or provincial level (see Williamson 1976)), extensive travel would probably not be involved and the teams could meet as needed. The leaflets would be easily adaptable to the interests of different mother tongue communities. Finally, they would constitute a controllable basis for cost-benefit analysis in language education.

More importantly, such a programme could indicate the kinds of mother tongue literature, eventual textbooks, and other reading materials for adults that would ultimately be needed (see Harman 1974). As regards L2 teaching, the bilingual leaflets could also teach the official language or any other indigenous language chosen as a common language by a group of different first language communities. From the political point of view, the programme would be largely neutral with regard to the choice of any indigenous language as a national or provincial language. Also, in the present movement towards economic integration, the programme would provide a flexible focus on cross-national cooperation when the first or official languages concerned are spoken in more than one country.

Given the importance of the financial aspect of literacy, very tentative considerations have been attempted here. As Blaug (1966) notes, there does not seem to be a cheap way of eradicating illiteracy. A national community must approach the problem courageously and be willing to pay the price.

It is felt that the main financial question connected with large-scale literacy in Africa is whether the countries are prepared to devote no less than 0.3 per cent of their GNP per capita to the task of making and maintaining a literate society. This estimate is based on the quantified comparative educational indicators published by the World Bank (1974:10-19). In addition, it is assumed that one copy of literacy follow-up materials will have to be produced for five people (at random). For Africa

to become and remain a literate society, a per capita annual contribution of no less than twenty-five U.S. cents would be necessary (exclusive of the distribution costs of follow-up materials). However, such estimations are significant only if many other cost-minimizing factors are also considered, including various ways of utilizing available human resources.

6.3. Language Simplification Planning for Large-Scale Literacy : The Metalanguage of Science (MLS)

Efforts have been made in the past to simplify language varieties used in literature for new literates. Important steps were taken in this direction, for example, with regard to writing the simplest possible sentences, paragraphs, and texts (Haramati 1973 ; Gudschinsky 1973). The use of pictorial representations is also being promoted.

In view of these developments, this section proposes one further step. It is based on an investigation of the metalanguage of science (MLS) ; i.e., the largely ideographic representation system made up of numbers, diagrams, graphs, operators, and labels commonly used in the sciences. It is important to note, however, that iconography is very complex making it necessary to ensure that the materials utilized in a given area do not violate cultural or sociolinguistic conventions, or are not simply meaningless.

The MLS is a generally-used written language and an intrinsic part of most written languages in modern technological societies. In principle, things written in MLS can be read in any language : e.g. 1, 2 and 3 can be read as "one", "two" and "three", or as "un","deux" and "trois", or also as "womo", "mem'pia", and "métét'

The step suggested here is that language education planning should consider ways of adapting the MLS to the everyday reading and writing needs of the African society. This adaptation would minimize the obstacles that multilingualism presents to the development of large-scale literacy. In particular, the MLS would constitute

a bridge between the official language and the other indigenous languages. The basic daily reading and writing tasks, which can be performed only in the official language, should be expressed in the MLS, making th m simpler and easier for people from diverse language backgrounds.

The ideographic symbols of the MLS abound in written scientific materials. Although each scientific field develops some special symbols of its own, most mathematical symbols are common to many of them. There are well-known characteristics such as precision, algorithms of deduction, and its ideal of objectivity. Rapoport (1963) points out that sciences have a language of factual reports and tend to exclude sentiment and imagery. Simple words denote complex notions. Mathematical operations are used as generators of concepts. He further stresses that scientific insights are rooted not in personal or cultural perceptions of relatedness but in the actual structure of the world to the extent that this structure reflects itself in the mathematical description of reality.

This study analyzed sample texts from various sciences (mathematics, economics, physics, computer science, linguistics) to determine some general characteristics for use as guidelines in adapting scientific ideographic symbols to daily reading and writing tasks. It was found that many of them are used in a structures context, i.e. a self-sufficient frame such as a table or a diagram, which by its overall make-up provides the general meaning of the relationship between the symbols used. Such structures contexts are found in calendars, on watches. on posters, and in many other forms of daily written information. Some simple characteristics were identified and are listed below. Each is defined in terms of its supporting structured context (SC) or frame, and the corresponding required task.

Identification : SC : One identifiable object.

Task : labeling of the object as a unique entity (e.g., X; Y; Z = 2).

Quantification : SC: A set of objects or a measurable entity and a corresponding measuring scale.

Task : to establish a constant relationship between the given object(s) and the corresponding scale, which may be numbers, currency, time, distance, weight, or volume (e.g. 2kg ; ₱ 2.00 ; 2km.).

Classification : SC :Many subsets in a set of objects.

Task : the grouping and/or subgrouping of objects into cqtegories according to such variables as their internal constituents or their functional properties (e.g., ≠ 1; ≠≠ 2; ≠≠≠ 3 ; ≠≠ 2 = consonants ; ≠≠≠ 3 = vowels.

Symbolizing : SC : The elements of a set of objects.

Task : the use of numbers, letters, and other conventional symbols to represent the set, its elements, and the related operations (e.g., a; b; a ∈ A; b ⊂ A ; a+b=B).

Representing : SC : Overall relation holding among the elements of a set.

Task : the use of devices such as tables, graphs, and labeled diagrams to represent the relation (e.g., a calendar page, and various directional informative forms).

Hypothesizing : SC : A premise suggesting a possible consequence.

Task : to express the derivation of an argument from the premise (e.g. , X ⌊ Y meaning, "If X then Y").

Deduction : SC : Two related facts, one general and the other specific.

Task : to derive a specific fact from a related general fact (e.g. , x ⟵ X).

Induction : SC : Simple reverse of deduction.

The significance of a combination of scientific symbols in an everyday written communication depends on the consensus on the meaning of each symbol and on the nature of the communication. The four broad categories of NLS representations that are useful, especially in an emerging literate society, are : (1) pictorial represen-

tations (photographs and drawings) ; (2) pure ideographic representations comprising numbers and operators (i.e. symbols such as +, x, =) ; (3) semi-ideographic representations that are a combination of pure ideographs and labels written with an alphabet (e.g. 2kg ; 50MPH; 3/day; 17th Street; etc) and (4) pure labels, i.e., things written in a given language but not commonly translated into another language, (proper names, titles, acronyms, addresses and certain signs).

A large-scale literacy programme would need to stress the use of (1) and (2) in any language. Then those aspects of (3) and (4) that in the everyday reading and writing tasks required from all citizens in the official language can be introduced in that very language, once people are literate in their own language.

Hoping that the idea of bilingual follow-up leaflets suggested earlier can be implemented, one of their functions could be to familiarize the people with the adopted MLS symbols. More generally, once the functionality of large-scale literacy is defined in terms of common daily reading and writing tasks, an individual might become functionally multiliterate once he could read and write in his own language, read at least two pages of follow-up materials per month, and effectively use, in the official language, categories (3) and (4) of the above MLS symbols.

6.4. Importance of Volunteerism in Eradicating Illiteracy

Volunteerism is a recognized international resource. In the field of education, an important share in the United States is supported by organized voluntary resources. First, there are foundations that contribute to the expansion of education as well as to the fields of health, welfare, and religion. Second, there are various voluntary activities in which people donate time and skills towards solving important social problems. One example is the Laubach literacy programme, created to eradicate illiteracy in the United States. This programme operates in every state, with the aid of volunteer teachers. Third, there are other forms of semi-voluntary action, such as various educational programmes whereby students earn

academic credits for their participation in community development activities.

Volunteerism is such a deep-rooted tradition (see Hardy & Cull 1973) that the federal state, and local governments often endorse and encourage it. Less-developed countries have benefited to a certain extent through such bodies as the Peace Corps and other United States voluntary organizations.

Volunteerism has also become a tradition in literacy campaigns. One world-wide method is known as each-one-teach-one (Medary 1954), discovered and propagated by Frank Laubach in the 1930s. This method simply requires that one literate person teaches literacy skills to one illiterate person. The method has been applied in over 100 countries (Mason 1966). Its effectiveness is generally beyond doubt, but if used without the support of follow-up literacy materials, most of the thousands and millions of people who had become literate would lapse back into semi- or total illiteracy.

Other methods have been implemented in such countries as the Soviet Union (Blaug 1966) and Mexico (Heath 1972). These include the awarding of special cards to those literates who make a given number of other people literate. From the early 1920s onwards, the Soviet Union effectively used its Young Communist League in a large-scale literacy programme based on voluntary participation. However, its success was also due to an important economic factor, i.e. the availability of jobs for the new literates. Another was the policy of literacy in the mother tongue. In Mexico, various incentives were used to encourage literates to help other people become literate. These included tuition waivers for students who had helped a given number of people. Voluntary literacy action was also widely encouraged in Brazil.

In Africa, there have been valuable voluntary contributions to literacy work. A great many of these were initiated by religious groups. In most African countries, many school teachers, concerned educated people, and students have participated in some literacy work. However, an unfortunate setback occurred during the 1960s in the

francophone countries when French was used as the medium of instruction in large-scale literacy campaigns. It turned out that it simply was not the right medium, especially in the rural areas. Thus, various literacy programmes collapsed and the hopes that they contained faded away. Since then, certain countries such as Mali (Dumont 1973) have changed their literacy policies to include the mother tongue medium, but others have not.

Experience from the Experimental World Literacy Programme (Unesco 1976a) indicates that voluntary action is an important means of combating illiteracy.

Certain conditions are necessary for effective voluntary action. First, voluntary participation time must be as short as possible so that the volunteer's enthusiasm can be sustained all the way through. Second, there must be sufficient public means (financial resources and mass media). Third, a volunteer must be qualified to do the job. Training can be accomplished in a variety of ways, but it cannot be left to chance. In the United States, for example, under programmes like English in Action, more experienced volunteers or volunteer professionals train newcomers. Fourth, a policy of limited rewards must be found to supplement voluntary action, e.g., the granting of academic credits to students for their participation in a literacy programme . Unesco (1976:188) suggested that "students at universities, teacher-training colleges and secondary schools, for instance, might be required to make a given number of people literate as a condition for graduation". Fifth, there must be at least a minimum of effective follow-up reading materials. Given the vital importance of such materials, necessary financing should come from both the public and private sectors.

Although literacy is not often considered within academic circles, language planning studies in developing nations need to give it closer attention as regards research, training, and materials development.

It is suggested here that the Laubach method of each-one-teach-one could be revived and effectively used. Bear in mind, however, that there is more to literacy work than just teaching the illiterates. There is the deep human factor of opening the mind of someone to a new world and sharing with him the wealth and wonders of that world. In other words, in applying the each-one-teach-one method to Africa, one might need to think first of its deeper meaning, which is each-one-share-with-one.

CHAPTER VII

THE ECONOMIC CONSIDERATIONS OF THE MODEL

This chapter covers the economic considerations for the implementation planning of the proposed trilingual model. These include an assessment of the economic importance of language education, the characteristics of the language industry, the importance of a policy of common resources development for language education, and the framework for developing the necessary cost-minimizing factors in implementing language education policies.

7.1. Economic Importance of Language Education

Thus far, this study simply assumed that language education is a vital part of the educational system of each African country. However, the question of just how vital has not been discussed. This question is, in itself, a topic for an entire research project. Thus, it can receive only a limited treatment here.

Until the early 1970s, African educational authorities had not seriously worried about language education problems. When the African ministers of education met in Addis Ababa in 1961 to establish objectives for the coming 20 years, they did not discuss language education. However, when they met again 15 years later in Lagos, language education was a priority item (Unesco, 1976b). They had realized that educational achievement, especially at the primary level, is deeply influenced by the medium of instruction, i.e., by language. They understand that African languages must become the media of instruction if there is to be significant efficiency in primary schools. The impact of such recognition would be considerable if the economic importance of language education could be presented quantitatively.

The data for such quantification are extremely difficult to gather. However, language education planning should at least attempt a tentative one. Bearing in mind that education is the single largest industry in most countries, the first step is to identify the percentage of the gross national product (GNP) devoted to education in Africa. In this respect, Unesco (1974b : 109) offers the following information.

TABLE 7.1

PUBLIC EXPENDITURES ON EDUCATION AS A PERCENTAGE OF GNP FOR THE AFRICAN CONTINENT

Year	Percentage
1965	3.5
1970	4.4
1972	4.3

The next step would be to calculate the fraction of instruction time devoted to language education and to convert that fraction to a percentage of the GNP devoted to education. Two difficulties arise here. First, figures for private expenditures are generally not readily available. Second, it is very difficult to dissociate language skills from other school subjects, especially at the primary level.

Despite these difficulties, certain facts can help formulate tentative hypotheses for future research. First, language education seems to be the single major component of primary education and will probably continue to be so. There is a growing emphasis on first and second language teaching at the primary level and there are indications that third languages will also be taught. Subjects such as reading, writing, oral communication, and language use in modern mathematics occupy a large portion of instruction time in the primary school curriculum.

Second, above the primary level, many language education activities could eventually be quantified in terms of the fraction of their instruction time. As

noted earlier, a new world language (i.e. different from the official foreign language) is generally taught at the secondary level. The official foreign language, used as the primary medium of intruction, is also studied.

Third, literacy remains the major component of non-formal education, i.e., continuing and mass education. King (1967) writes that in Tanzania, the nonformal teaching represents, in terms of total instruction time, approximately one-fourth for primary schools.

Therefore, it is tentatively hypothesized that approximately one-quarter of the instructional time in most countries is devoted to language education. This would correspond to no less than 1 per cent of the GNP for the continent. This tentative estimate excludes the part of the GNP devoted to language education cooperation. Special investigations are needed to assess the percentage of GNP so alloted and to take into account that part of foreign aid allotted to expatriate language teachers, researchers, and material developers (Hallak & Poignant 1967). Future research could probably lend support to the above hypothesis. First, in most African countries, primary education accounts for the highest percentage of the total public current expenditures (Unesco,1974: 506-509). Second, primary education will apparently expand in the near future, necessitating more public expenditures (World Bank 1974). The Universal Primary Education (UPE) programme in Nigeria illustrates this trend. In its 1976-77 budget, the Nigerian federal government provided a total of 730 million Nira for education. Of this amount, N515 million, or 69.7 per cent, went to the UPE in its first year[1]. Also, the expansion of primary education in Nigeria is closely associated with that of large-scale literacy.

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[1] Reported in Africa 59 (July 1976) : 85.

7.2. The Language Industry in Africa

Language industry is here defined as the development, production, and distribution of language materials and services. Language materials are items such as books, tapes, records, and film strips. Language services are provided by such professionals as language teachers, translators, interpreters, and linguists. These services are salaried and are obtained through various (language) institutions. Language materials and services are often channelled through the same institutions ; e.g., schools, adult education programmes, radio and television, in-service training programmes, and industries.

As a part of overall African industry initiated during the colonial period, the language industry displays a general dependency on Europe. Most materials for the teaching of the official foreign languages are published abroad and therefore have to be imported. This is also true for most textbooks in other academic subjects printed in those languages. Similarly, earlier materials on African languages were published abroad, especially since the research was conducted by foreigners.

The development of an African publishing industry is rather slow due to many difficulties including competition from foreign publishing companies and, above all, the lack of capital (Nottingham 1969). Here again, Unesco is one of the major international organizations often called upon for assistance in the effort (Unesco 1969).

It thus appears that language education planning in Africa also means development planning of the language industry. For example, due to the inability of many countries to produce the materials required for language education, serious consideration must be given to possible cooperative publishing services (Unesco 1972b, 1976b). Note that the proposed trilingual model suggests the amount of educational materials that could be published in a given language

(Figs. 4.1, 4.2). The model offers a general framework for readership estimation. Thus, one may estimate that fewer materials will produced in C languages for a limited readership per language ; more materials in B languages for a larger readership ; and still more in A languages for the largest readership (see Appendix).

The development of the African language industry is very likely to follow the general trend of African economic integration. The concern here is to indicate the validity for language education planning in the light of the purely economic dimension of language. Such an approach makes planners more sensitive to the mutual influence between the development of language education and that of the national economy.

In Africa, the development of language education will naturally be influenced by that of such economic sectors as the paper industry, the mass media (Unesco 1973c), the publishing industry, and various components of heavy industry. In turn, the implementation of various language education policies will influence the expansion of these economic sectors.

It thus appears that the question of whether African countries have sufficient resources to meet their language education needs becomes a future-oriented issue that should be discussed in relation to their economic potential. Such an assessment should distinguish long-range from immediate resources.

In assessing long-range resources, emphasis should be placed on the potential resources because these indicate the direction of future development. Neglecting them results in plans that reinforce economic balkanization and dependency on the diminishing resources of foreign aid. Serious consideration should also be given to natural resources, e.g., the development of hydroelectric resources to power rural educational television systems. Regarding human

resources, educational systems have great potential for eradicating illiteracy (see section 7.5.1). Finally, cooperative efforts could help the countries cope with currency problems (Nana-Sinkam 1975).

An assessment of immediately available financial resources must distinguish between the temporary and the permanent. Temporary resources include most imported materials, foreign personnel, foreign aid, etc. Permanent resources are those national and inter-African resources that are developed for uninterrupted long-range use. A clear process should be established for substituting permanent resources for temporary ones.

7.3. A Framework for Long-Range Implementation Planning : The Common Resource Principle.

The proposed model finds one of its most practical applications in the development of common resources for language education. If adopted by many African countries, it would, among other things, help in identifying the common needs and in seeking out the common cooperative resources for meeting those needs.

In their 1973 declaration of cooperation, development, and economic independence, the heads of state and government of African countries clearly stated their intention to " give full support through their respective States and the Organization of African Unity, to the programmes of the Association of African Universities and other institutions for the fostering of co-operation in particular areas of training and research, most especially the teaching of African and relevant foreign languages, the extension of training facilities to meet specific shortages of middle and highlevel African personnel, the investigation of economic, social, cultural, scientific and technical problems that are of particular importance for African development, and the exchange of university teachers and students[1]. "

[1] Reported in Africa Contemporary Record, 1974-75, p. C212.

This declaration offers a reliable basis for envisaging the development of common resources for language education. However, this concept should be derived from the broader notion of common general development.

It is within this broad framework of African common development that a policy of developing common resources for language education can be studied. This is because such eventual resources would have to be part of both common educational resources and common development resources. There are obvious common needs such as mutual decisions on cross-national border languages, cooperative literacy programmes, multimedia language teaching programmes, publication of materials, coordination of various programmes, cooperative research, language associations, etc.

With regard to common language education resources, a first step would be to develop a basis for their quantification in terms of a percentage of GNP devoted to either educational cooperation or inter-African cooperation. Given the currently embryonic nature of inter-African cooperation in language education, no attempt is made here to offer an hypothesis concerning such percentage, awaiting further research. Since the common resources would necessarily be long-range, permanent ones , one could also study the various procedures for their formation, e.g. the possibility of African countries contributing directly with a percentage of their dividends from inter-African enterprises.

This study simply suggests that the concept of common language education resources be taken as an immediate working principle. This concept is undoubtedly a general cost-minimizing principle.

7.4. The Role of Cost-Benefit Analysis

Cost-benefit analysis is a useful device for language education planning in Africa (Tadadjeu 1977). There is a temptation to use a formal cost-benefit

analysis model to try to deal with some of the issues, because such a model can, under appropriate circumstances, deal with both the tangible and the intangible elements to arrive at an evaluation of the desirability of implementing some particular set of development steps. Unfortunately, in language education, while the intangible elements are rather easily identified, most cannot be dealt with in general terms because their rational costing out is not presently possible. Undoubtedly, as governments eventually isolate the explicit and implicit expenditures in fairly specific terms, a cost-benefit analysis model will be a useful evaluative mechanism. At the present time, it can be presented in qualitative terms (focusing on intangibles) as an initial step towards a cost-benefit analysis presented in quantitative terms (focusing on tangibles, e.g., monetary values).

The procedure presented here is offered as a systematic way of solving some language education problems. The idea behind the simplified presentation is that the result of cost-benefit analysis must be readily understandable by all those from different backgrounds who deal with language education problems.

Thorburn (1971) presents three basic steps that define cost-benefit analysis in language planning : identification, quantification, and valuation of all consequences of choosing one alternative planning instead of another alternative.

While it is premature to attempt to apply specifically the above principles, it may be argued that their application will help in determining the preference of the proposed trilingual model over either a bilingual model now commonly used or the monolingual model of the colonial period. It seems possible to develop a set of cost-minimizing factors for a trilingual model that might offset some of the implicit costs and at the same time, a set of benefit-maximizing factors demonstrating its greater desirability over a bilingual or monolingual model.

The following is suggested for dealing with the cost-benefit analysis of a given pair of alternatives. At a time (t_1) when each alternative plan is being considered, all initial costs (IC), tangible and intangible, must be identified and further broken down into subcomponents. The corresponding initial benefits (IB), tangible and intangible, must also be identified. For each subcomponent cost, one must search for corresponding cost-minimizing factors (CM) that can significantly reduce or even nullify this cost. A cost-minimizing factor (an alternative decision, policy, or procedure), can also be a benefit-maximizing factor (BM). At a time (t_2) chosen as either the completion or the evaluation time, final costs (FC) and final benefits (FB) must be identified. Actually, benefits are not "final" because they do not end at time (t_2). To determine the relation between the FCs and FBs, it must be decided, even through intuitive judgment for intangible costs and benefits, the degree to which the given subcomponent cost will be minimized and the corresponding benefit maximized. The FCs will then be the result of combining all minimized initial costs, and the FBs that of combining all maximized initial benefits. One may then be forecast as greater than the ICs (FC IC), in which case the alternative plan should normally not be proposed. But if the FCs are forecast as less than the ICs (FC IC) - precisely because of the CMs, which will also maximize the IBs - then this alternative may be proposed if, in addition, its FBs are forecast as greater than those of the competing alternative. Now, if monetary calculations are possible, i.e., in dealing with a specific programme or case study, then all FCs and FBs must be properly discounted to their present value (i.e., at time t_1). Thus, in choosing one alternative over the other, a comparison of the two alternatives should be less complicated.

The procedure's main value is that it provides a systematic way of dealing with intangibles. It also compels the analysts (and possibly the decision-makers)

to search for alternative ways of implementing a language plan to minimize costs. If for a given alternative plan (X), sufficient CMs can be presented to show that the FCs forecast will be less than those of a competing alternative (Y), pending the uncertainty associated with the time required for implementation, one may then claim to have valuable supportive evidence in favour of the alternative (X).

7.5. Identifying Cost-Minimizing Factors

Some evidence is now presented to show that the benefits from a functional trilingual education system making use of minority languages (i.e., C languages) is far greater than those of an alternative plan (a bilingual system) that excludes them. It is assumed that for those countries, that are now changing their educational policies to include the teaching of African languages, certain identifiable costs and benefits are associated with the teaching of these languages. A cost-benefit analysis of alternative plans should show the consequences that the choice of a given alternative would have for those general costs and benefits.

For a given pair of alternatives, the one with fewer or no cost-maximizing factors is preferable to the one with more cost-maximizing factors. Also, an alternative plan that increases the probability of attaining the expected benefits is preferable to one that does not. One test is to check the conformity of the alternative plan to the existing pattern of language use in the community.

The problem of using African languages as media of instruction in primary schools and in adult literacy programmes has at least two main alternative solutions identifiable as the basis for two alternative plans. A first alternative (see section 3.4) is a selective solution that consists of choosing certain languages for education - almost all of which fall within the A and B types - and in simply ignoring the others, at least officially. The result would be a

bilingual education system (Houis 1976). The assumption is that, economically and practically, it is impossible to use all African languages. This underestimates the effectiveness of the oral use of languages (section 7.5.3) and the possible impact of the development of an educational language industry on national economic development.

A second more integrative alternative would be to adopt functional multilingualism using all African languages for specific educational purposes correlated with specific societal functions of each language type (A, B, and C). Thus, in primary schools and in adult literacy programmes, certain subjects would be taught in certain language types. For example, folk literature and basic arithmetic would be taught in all languages including C languages, while large parts of civics and national geography would be taught in B languages, and most of science and technology in A languages. The use of all these different languages would follow the hierarchical complementation pattern shown in Fig. 4.2. This second alternative is, therefore, a trilingual one and is fully consistent with the proposed model.

The problem now is to determine which of these two plans has fewer or no cost-maximizing factors. Attention here is focused on francophone countries since apparently they would all like to introduce A and B African languages into their educational systems (along with French). However, they are unable to do so easily, because in order to promote positive language attitudes within minority groups, they must confer an official status on minority languages.

The arguments commonly advanced in favour of introducing African languages are summarized here in terms of initial benefits (IB) which may apply to both primary schools and adult literacy.

(IB1) Contribution to national development : African languages are consid-

red necessary to promote general national development.

(IB2) Contribution to economic productivity : since agriculture is the major economic sector of most African countries, African languages can become the best means for conveying to both the masses and to pupils the knowledge necessary for increasing productivity.

(IB3) Promoting authentic cultural and social values : this objective covers a wide range of values from the less tangible (spiritual values) to the more tangible (social mobility).

(IB4) Educational efficiency : negatively stated, the use of African languages can reduce waste costs associated with (a) the improper teaching of non-African languages by too many unqualified teachers and (b) the low rate of return associated with learning non-African languages at the primary school level by those who will not use them at work and will, in time, relapse into semi- or complete illiteracy. Positively stated, African languages are the best means for : (a) providing equal educational opportunities at the primary school level, and (b) mass education through adult functional literacy and nonformal education programmes. Ease of learning and shorter learning time are other benefits that may be included here (see section 5.3.2.). Other possible benefits (IB5) are not directly apparent.

The general costs for governments are identifiable. The actual monetary costs of a language programme should be estimated only after all the human resources to be used in implementation have been assessed. In any case, the following initial costs (IC) are identifiable :

(IC1) Language textbooks and teaching aids, including the cost of : (a) writing, (b) translating and (c) publishing as reflected in (d) the actual market prices of language textbooks and teaching aids at a given time.

(IC2) Language teacher training, where the costs include : (a) additional operating costs for training in the existing institutions, (b) additional operating costs for continuing training, retraining and briefing by broadcast media, (c) operating costs for African language broadcast courses, (d) costs of preliminary sociolinguistic surveys, (e) developmental costs for dictionaries and other necessary mechanisms for standardization, and (f) costs associated with the reduction of languages to writing.

(IC3) Follow-up materials, including (a) periodicals for adults, (b) reading materials for children, and (c) distribution.

(IC4) Teacher salaries, including (a) those for specialized African language teachers and (b) for teacher trainers specialized in teaching African languages.

(IC5) National unity : although all African countries are using some African (A and B) languages for broadcasts, the introduction of these languages into the educational system is still feared as a threat to national unity. This apprehension is an intangible cost, but one that must be seriously considered.

(IC6) Other possible costs not immediately apparent.

7.5.1. Cost-Minimizing Factors Applicable to Both Bilingual and Trilingual Alternatives

One general function of the suggested type of analysis is to help identify and propose certain policies that would minimize costs in countries where either alternative is adopted.

7.5.1.1. Cooperative Language Projects

Language texbooks and teaching aids produced cooperatively on cross-border languages would cost less than if each country had to produce them independently. This is a cost-minimizing factor (IC1) that also maximized some intangible benefits (IB5) such as increased links among neighbouring countries.

7.5.1.2. Book longevity

If textbooks were made to serve for many years, parents would not have to worry too much about their price so long as it was within their means since older children could pass the books on to younger ones. This is a cost-minimizing factor (IC1d) exploitable in many ways. For example, to update textbooks, many of them, especially language textbooks, could be put into independent units held together in separators so that specific units could be updated while the others remain unchanged. This has already been extensively and successfully done in science fields in many countries.

7.5.1.3. School Participation

In most African countries today, certain educational activities (especially at the higher educational level) are planned so that they contribute directly to development objectives. Brown (1974) suggests that teacher trainers, textbook writers, and student teachers working on their theses, should work together in preparing textbook and teaching aid manuscripts. If countries and/or regions encouraged school participation in materials development, its implementation in the area of African languages would be facilitated because each student would be working on his own or on a closely-related language. A carefully-planned procedure for primary schools and for adult literacy programmes could reduce the costs (IC1a) of manuscript preparation and those of translation (IC1b). Moreover, the extension of the procedure to the teaching of African languages for academic credits by students (each teaching his/her own language) would significantly reduce the cost (IC4a) under teacher salaries and perhaps eliminate others. There are, however, problems ; student involvement in teaching may slow down the students' progress towards their own degrees because of the demands of teaching preparation. And not all students are capable of producing quality work.

Thus, professional supervision (normally by well-trained classroom teachers) would be necessary. Problems related to the supervisory cost would have to be weighed case by case.

7.5.1.4. The Use of Broadcast Media : Radio and Television

Language teaching broadcasts are becoming a wide-spread practice in most African countries. Unesco (1973) has estimated, in connection with a project of educational communication satellites for sub-Saharan Africa, that one-hal of the population would be reached by an information system using eight languages, while two-thirds would be reached by the same system using 48 languages. The foregoing shows that the use of broadcast media could be a cost-minimizing factor applicable both to teacher training (IC2) and to teacher salaries (IC4a), provided that it reduces the number of highly-qualified teachers needed. The use of broadcast media should also be viewed as a benefit-maximizing factor applicable to educational efficiency (IB4).

7.5.1.5. Other Possible Cost-Minimizing Factors

It is important to define the economic context in which cost-minimizing factors are being discussed here. First, most African economies are planned economies. Second, education is also planned, and governments control it even in private institutions, since these are licensed by the government. The two points suggest that, in considering the costs of language or any other area of education in their relation with governments, one is discussing a quasi monopolistic market. Governments can plan the return from almost all monetary investments in such items as material development, broadcasting, etc. Some even can determine, for example, the amount of profit to be made on the sale of a given textbook. The investment in mass education will be paid back in higher taxes from increased

production that trained farmers will realize. In African language education, one important potential role of cost-benefit analysis is to help minimize the intangible costs, which often are heavier than tangible monetary costs, which, at least in one sense, seem to have the character of investments.

7.5.2. Cost-Maximizing Factors Arguing Against the Bilingual Alternative

Bilingual alternative planning essentially excludes C languages as media of instruction. The following are some negative consequences of this alternative.

7.5.2.1. A Treat to National Unity

The first alternative creates ill feeling between C-speaking groups and B- and/or A-speaking groups (A referring here to African A languages). C-speaking groups as minorities inevitably feel that an imposition of B and A languages will ultimately destroy their languages and their cultures. A- and B- speaking groups are also likely to display their linguistic and cultural superiority over the minority groups. As a result, the latter would probably take every opportunity to set their identities in opposition to that of the former and thus undermine national unity. This is an overriding cost-maximizing factor that no government is willing to bear.

7.5.2.2. Unwillingness to Purchase Follow-up Materials in B Languages

If one admits that because of the important functions of A languages, some C-speaking groups will learn them and possibly buy some reading materials in them, the same assumption cannot hold for B languages whose functions are less important for most C-speaking groups. Thus, they would be unlikely to support the introduction of B languages into primary schools and adult literacy programmes. On the contrary, they would offer strong opposition and be unwilling to buy or even use free materials in B languages. This is the situation in many francophone countries.

7.5.2.3. A and B languages as Second or Foreign Languages for C-speaking Groups

The introduction of A and B languages does not solve the problem of education in a second or a foreign language for C-speaking groups. The relatedness of any combination of the three language types does not mean that C-speaking groups, especially in the rural areas, will use A and B languages more frequently once they are learned. Thus, for minority groups, the problem of educational efficiency is not entirely solved. They will still be learning unneeded language skills in B or A languages and not learning those that they actually do need in their mother tongues. This cost-maximizing factor is less likely to occur with the trilingual alternative.

7.5.2.4. Loss of C Languages as Cultural and Scientific Resources

Official failure to recognize the educational values of C languages will result in a decreased effort to preserve them as cultural and scientific resources. In addition, even any minimal attempt to preserve them would lack rational justification and would consequently be a waste, because if the cultural and scientific resources associated with living languages are not used, it is unlikely that these resources will be used after the languages are dead.

There are many other negative aspects to the bilingual alternative, but the above suffice to show that there are heavy costs arising from the exclusion of C languages.

7.5.3. Cost-Minimizing Factors Arguing in Favour of the Trilingual Alternative

In general, the trilingual alternative has the following overriding advantages: (a) it requires a strictly functional approach to second language teaching/learning in order to be operative ; i.e., it increases the probability of attaining the expected returns or objectives since no language skill will be taught in a given language without evidence that the skill is needed for

performing certain functions socially relevant for the learning group ; (b) based on the existing patterns of language use, this alternative helps people to use language more effectively in doing what, for their own benefit, they are prepared to do anyway ; and (c) within a trilingual education framework, the specifically relevant social functions associated with each language type (A, B, and C) can be identified and used as input for primary school curriculum planning.

7.5.3.1. Preservation and Reinforcement of National Unity

In any African country, national unity is so administratively, politically, and economically structured that no C-speaking group would be able to destroy it just by means of language and associated strong separatist feelings. However, such feelings do weaken national unity. But languages, especially C languages, may not even cause strong separatist feelings if given official recognition of some minimal educational function which, in many countries, will almost nullify the intangible cost (IC5) identified earlier as a threat to national unity. Thus, unity could not only be preserved, but also strengthened because it would be built on controllable and just linguistic grounds.

7.5.3.2. Eradicating Adult Illiteracy

Chapter VI showed functional multilingualism applied to adult literacy could produce a functional multilingual literacy. Every adult illiterate would learn literacy skills in his mother tongue and at least one language higher in the scale C, B, A. Thus, C-speaking groups, no longuer limited within their linguistic boundaries, would be willing to purchase B language follow-up materials. This is a cost-minimizing factor (IC3) not resulting from the first alternative.

7.5.3.3. Two Standard Handbooks Per Language

A major effort is being made by cultural authorities in most African countries to preserve African languages as cultural resources. An effective way of justifying this effort and relating it to language education would be to provide two standard handbooks on every language. The first, mainly but not exclusively intended for early primary school, would include the orthography of the language ; simple reading texts graded on the basis of selected themes, vocabulary, basic grammatical patterns and exercises and reading texts drawn from the oral (folk) literature. There are already a number of national and regional projects to collect and transcribe African oral literatures. Without doubt, some direct costs are associated with these projects, but since they are in progress (Unesco 1972b) and their future activities are being budgeted, the inclusion of oral literature texts in the proposed handbook will make for lower expenditures.

The second standard handbook should be primarily but not exclusively intended for adult literacy.It would include basic arithmetic problem solving procedures and informative reading texts on such health, civics, agriculture, and basic natural sciences. It is strongly suggested that the two standard handbooks be bilingual in C and A, B and A, or C and B languages. Each handbook would thus be used to teach two languages. This may create translation problems because not every person working directly on a language will have all the necessary translation skills. This will undoubtedly involve some cost which must be calculated case by case. More importantly, one language A handbook would serve as a common reference version for the content of the standard handbooks in as many C and B languages as possible. Presently, in Cameroon, each of these two books, if produced without government support, would have a purchase price of

about $ 3.00 (far too high for potential buyers). Many benefits would result from standard handbooks without any apparent loss or cost-maximizing factor arising from their production. Rather, as polyvalent materials, their financing would not be the sole responsibility of governments, but also that of all private and international institutions now promoting African languages.

7.5.3.4. Linking Primary School Activities and Home Activities

Those countries concerned about how to link primary school activities with home activities might consider adopting the trilingual alternative which makes it possible to encourage all parents to help their children with some language skill requirements. Thus, parents could help children meet some mother tongue skill requirements.

7.5.3.5. The Oral Use of C Languages as Alternate Media of Instruction

Instances of oral use of Lls other than the indigenous national languages in primary schools are predominant in some countries, especially in the rural areas. The costs here are minimal, since even unwritten C languages may be used orally to explain various subjects at the primary level. Undoubtedly, the oral use of C languages in early primary education facilitates pupils' understanding of the subject matter more than the direct use of any L2.

However, a bilingual education model would limit oral use of C languages and favour the direct use of B or A languages. This, of course, would be disadvantageous to C-speaking children. On the contrary, a trilingual model would fully recognize the oral use of C languages as well as the fact that certain local oral traditions can only be adequately told and taught in the C languages of the communities in which they originate. Furthermore, official recognition of the oral use of C languages as alternate media could constitute an initial step towards fuller implementation of trilingual education, especially in rural schools. In

multilingual urban schools, the most commonly spoken media of instruction would be the most orally utilized.

7.5.3.6. Peer Group Communication

In most African schools, peer group communication occurs in a medium other than the officially prescribed medium of instruction. This is because pupils who speak the same mother tongue communicate with each other in their Lls, even when they discuss school subjects. In the playground, the use of Lls is so natural that during the colonial period school authorities had to take punitive measures to try to reduce the practice. Such official action seems to have been wide-spread, since instances are attested from many countries outside Africa.

Presumably such measures constituted a tacit recognition that language education is in fact not limited to formal in-class instruction, but rather that it pervades all activities occurring both within and beyond the school environment If this is the case, independent of the use of any given Ll as a medium of instruction, then most African schools constitute an environment in which the media of education for most children are de facto increased by one. This phenomenon restricts instances of bilingual education to rural schools attended by monolingual speakers of indigenous national or provincial languages; i.e., pupils for whom there seems to be no requirement to learn a second African language.

The stipulated limitation suggests that a future descriptive study of bilingual education in Africa could be one of exceptions rather than of the common situation of more wide-spread trilingual education. Indeed, it may be anticipated that, in the long run, authentic bilingual education could be characteristic of no more than about 10 of the 54 countries in Africa.

Where punitive measures are not invoked against children who use Lls as peer communication media, it is difficult to determine what costs are associated

with allowing the natural trilingual pattern. A strictly bilingual model, on the other hand, can at best tolerate the natural use of Lls. Under such conditions, pupils may have guilt feelings about a more or less illicit use of Ll. On the contrary, encouragement of the trilingual trend may produce positive educational values, may assist pupils in the development and retention of positive self images, and may facilitate learning.

The factors discussed here tend also to support the contention that the trilingual alternative is preferable to the bilingual alternative. While its implementation may be difficult, these difficulties seem to be more administrative and organizational.

CHAPTER VIII

THE TRILINGUAL MODEL AND LANGUAGE EDUCATION PLANNING IN CAMEROON

This chapter attempts to apply the proposed trilingual model to the particular case of Cameroon. The main concern is to show how the model can be used in the formulation of an acceptable language education policy.

8.1. Language Situation and Language Education

Cameroon is often referred to as "Africa in miniature". Indeed, there is much geographical, demographical, cultural, historical and linguistic evidence to support such a flattering title.

Cameroon has an area of 475,000 square kilometers (or about 200,000 square miles), and the country's population was estimated in the 1975 census at 7.5 million[1]. It is divided into seven administrative provinces and 30 divisions. The number of languages spoken is probably no less than 200.

LeVine (1970) indicates that there are approximately 136 ethnic groups in the former Eastern Cameroon (francophone) and 65 in the former Western Cameroon (anglophone) for a total of 201 in the country. Welmers offers 158 distinct language names for Cameroon alone.

The complexity of the language situation is also marked by the policy of official bilingualism. The Republic of Cameroon became independent from France on 1 January, 1960. In October 1961, the Republic of Cameroon and the former Southern British Cameroon merged to form the Federal Republic of Cameroon, which was renamed the United Republic of Cameroon, in May 1972. English and French were adopted as the official languages. Islam and Christianity are the major religions of the country, although the traditional religion is still widely practiced. About

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[1] Reported in Cameroon News, 31 January 1977, p. 7/

80 per cent of the population lives in the francophone area, which is the more economically advanced.

Since the adoption of English and French as official languages, the government has launched several programmes to implement this policy. As a result, there are bilingual secondary schools, cultural and linguistic centres, English and French teaching programmes by radio, an adult literacy programme in French and experimental bilingual primary schools.

Several bilingual secondary schools have been opened since reunification in 1961. Unsuccessful attempts have been made to use both English and French as alternating media of instruction in them. However, their students are linguistically better prepared for higher education at the bilingual University of Yaounde, the only university in Africa where lectures may be given in either English or French. Another objective of such schools is to prepare students for the few jobs requiring an equal mastery of both English and French. All other secondary schools are required to teach English as a foreign language in the francophone area and French as a foreign language in the anglophone area. The application of the proposed model to language teaching at the secondary level would actually mean extending the method of bilingual secondary schools to all secondary schools, as both English and French would be used as alternating media of instruction (see section 6.1).

Various efforts have been made outside the formal educational system to implement the official bilingual policy. A cultural and linguistic centre was established in Yaounde in 1962-1963. It was designed to help citizens improve their knowledge of French and English. Similar centres were to be established in other major cities (Legrand 1972). French and English teaching programmes by radio were developed respectively in the anglophone and the francophone parts of the country.

An important adult literacy programme "L'école sous l'arbre", was launched in the francophone area in the early 1960s. The programme was exclusively in French and was implemented in cities and in rural areas with volunteer help.

However, it has not been successful, especially in the rural areas where French is not the proper medium of initial adult literacy.

Generally, French is the medium of instruction in the primary schools of the francophone area, starting with the first year. After reunification, this policy was extended to the anglophone area. Indigenous languages are not taught. Experimental bilingual primary education introduced a second official language as a foreign language in the last three upper primary classes. Although there is much political support for this experimental programme, it is still too early to estimate its success. However, most primary schools cannot implement this type of bilingual education because of the limited number of bilingual teachers in both public and private schools. And it is unlikely that there will be enough bilingual teachers in the near future without a special training programme.

Even if there were enough trained teachers, the functional usefulness of bilingual primary education remains very doubtful in view of the rare use of both languages by pupils after primary education. Under the current educational policy of ruralization, most pupils will have to live in the rural areas, probably in their areas of origin, where they will be farmers and will therefore use their mother tongues rather than either French or English. Thus, experimental bilingual primary education apparently conflicts with the country's general economic development. It is very surprising that this did not strike Fonlon (1963), who supports bilingual primary education. Also, as noted by Asongwed (1975, 1977), English occupies a secondary position. Politically, bilingual primary education experiments could be one way of highlighting the status of English. However, it seems that greater emphasis is placed on teaching French in anglophone primary schools. A frequent question is whether the country's limited resources are being wasted on a programme that is unnecessary for the majority of pupils. The resources expended could probably be better utilized to teach indigenous languages since these are the ones most commonly used in

the vital agricultural sector. Moreover, considering the fact that most children in the experimental programme already speak a first indigenous language, a trilingual situation would actually exist instead of a bilingual one.

8.2. Current Trends in Language Education Reform

Educational reform is currently a major concern of Cameroon authorities (Ministry of National Education 1973 ; ONAREST 1975). Various efforts are being made to adapt primary and secondary education to the actual needs of the country. At the university level, research is being directed towards the practical problems of national development.

There are two trends in language education reform : policy reform and pedagogical reform. The main concern in policy reform is the integration of indigenous languages into the public education system. Pedagogical reform has generally attempted to improve the methods of teaching the official languages, especially French. Renaud et al (1972) proposed a new method called "Pour bien parler français" for primary schools. The method was not adopted but a similar one, developed by IPAR (Institut Pédagogique à Vocation Rurale) has been tested in pilot schools. Also, Geniaux et al. (1973) have developed new materials, Grammaire et expression, for teaching French in the first years of secondary schools.

As noted above, the most heated debate in educational reform is about the teaching of indigenous languages in the public school system. As indicated by Vernon-Jackson (1967), this is a very old problem, dating back to the missionary period (1844-1884). Vernon-Jackson traces the history language education from the time of missionary penetration to the early 1960s. Compared to current language education, Vernon-Jackson's description indicates that very little has changed since independence, especially at the primary level in the francophone area. Language education policy thus appears as a prolongation of the assimilational policy (see section 2.1) of the French colonial administration. Given this

general situation, the few initiatives for reform should be appreciated. These initiatives have been undertaken principally by private educational institutions.

A very challenging and unique example of a private effort is the Nufi programme for literacy and adult education conducted in an indigenous language (Fe' fe'). For more than 18 years, under the leadership of Abbé Tchamda and others, the programme has established evening schools throughout the country and abroad (e.g.,in France) and an adult education centre in Bafang. Since 1960, more than 3,000 people have graduated from the Nufi schools (Datchoua 1974). The programme has its own textbook publishing service.

Currently, private attempts are being made to develop similar programmes in Banjun, Bangangte, and Dschang. Other languages such as Bassa, Duala, and Ewondo have their own programmes. Also in the private educational sector, many secondary schools, under the leadership of Collège Libermann in Douala, have, since 1967, introduced indigenous languages into their curricula (Eteki' a Mbumua 1970 ; De Gastines 1974 ; Sow 1977). A few of these are the Collège Chevreil in Douala, the Collège de la Retraite in Yaounde, the Collège St. Paul in Bafang and the Collège Kamga in Bafoussam. However, some of them have discontinued their programmes.

A notable attempt to facilitate indigenous language use in education was made in 1970 with respect to the development of alphabets. A Unesco-sponsored meeting was held at the University of Yaounde to devise common phonemic alphabets for the languages of Central African countries, including Cameroon, the Central African Empire, Chad, and Gabon (Bot Ba Njock 1974). An initial common alphabet was then proposed and adopted, but it requires important refinements. These refinements have now been undertaken jointly by the CERELTRA (Centre de Recherche sur les Langues et Traditions Orales Africaines) and the Department of African Languages and Linguistics at the University of Yaoundé (see also Renaud & Zumafor 1977). Moreover, CERELTRA has recently set up an operational research programme to promote the teaching of Cameroon languages in the educational system.

In July 1973, a seminar sponsored by the "Enseignement Catholique"

(De Gastines 1974) was organized in Douala to study the various issues connected with the teaching of Cameroon languages (see Collège Libermann 1974). As mentioned earlier, a similar seminar was held in 1974 for the study of such selected Cameroon languages as Duala, Bassa, Bulu, Ewondo, Fe'fe', and Banjun[1]. During these two seminars, workshops were conducted daily to train some secondary and primary school teachers, as well as other highly motivated individuals, in transcribing and writing these languages.

The 1974 seminar decided that future seminars would be organized on a provincial basis in order to deal more adequately with local linguistic problems. The long-term aim would be to train teachers and literacy instructors to teach indigenous languages. Various other suggestions were made at special conferences held by Cameroon scholars on problems of integrating indigenous languages into the public school system, especially at the primary level.

In the search for an official policy, two general suggestions have been made that could serve as bases for developing a comprehensive language education model. However, neither seems to reflect the country's pattern of societal language use and language attitudes. Ngijol (1965) argues for the selection of one indigenous national language for educational purposes. However, no single language in Cameroon functions as a de facto national cultural identity. Hence, it is hoped that once the de facto provincial languages are officially made de jure ones, they will simultaneously be recognized as national languages, thereby raising their status.

Bot Ba Njock (1966) suggested that Cameroon be divided into major linguistic zones or regions and that regional languages be selected for primary education and adult literacy. The same position is also taken by Bot Ba Njock et al. (1977), but with a considerable reduction of the role of the selected indigenous languages in primary schools, as the transition to French would have to be completed by the third year. This second general suggestion was

[1] This language and its variants have recently been given a new name : Gomalá.

also made in different terms by the chancellor of the University of Yaoundé, Mbella Mbappe(1974),who proposed that provincial and/or interprovincial languages be selected for primary education and adult literacy and cited Duala, Ewondo, and Fulfulde as possibilities. The next step, in his opinion, would be to reach some kind of linguistic homogeneity at the national level.

Demonstrating the inefficiency of the current school system with its exclusive use of French or English, Mbella Mbappe noted that 40 per cent of the primary school children drop out in their fourth year, and that out of 1,000 children who enroll in the first year of primary education, only 17 continue at the secondary level. The others simply increase the number of Cameroon's illiterates or semiliterates.

It thus appears that the general trend is towards selecting provincial languages and integrating them into the public school system. However, it is feared that in so doing, the speakers of the languages that are not selected would become discontented and might oppose educational reform. This is apparently why the government delays in deciding to integrate indigenous languages into the public educational system. An acceptable language education policy must provide a systematic way of removing this apprehension. The proposed trilingual model can aid in formulating such an education policy.

8.3. Application of the Model to the Formulation of Language Education Policy.

An initial system of trilingual education, proposed by Tadadjeu (1975), involved the use of an official language (O1), a provincial language (when selected), and a mother tongue (when it is different from a provincial language), especially in primary schools and in adult literacy. In the anglophone area, English would be the first official language (O1) and French the second (O2) ; in the francophone part, French would be O1 and English O2. Only a first official language would be taught at the primary level and in late adult literacy

programmes, the second official language being taught at the secondary level and in continuing education. The proposed system needed adjustment because, although apparently adequate, some of its aspects remained unclear due to inclusion of such unquestioned notions as language as a subject of instruction (see section 5.2).

Also, the then proposed system could work to the greater advantage of linguistic groups whose languages would eventually be selected as provinc'al languages, since they would not be required to learn a second Cameroon language and could go on to learn a second official language while other linguistic groups would be striving to learn their languages as L2s. An attemps is made here to clarify the initial system on the basis of the proposed trilingual model.

The model reflects the triglossic pattern of societal language use in most African countries. This pattern exists in Cameroon. At the national level, the two official foreign languages can each be used as one alternate medium of instruction (O1) in the trilingual education system. At the provincial level, there are certain indigenous languages that function as de facto provincial languages, and each of which can be used as another alternate medium of instruction (a second Cameroon language (SCL)). Of course, the local L1 also functions as an alternate medium.

Most of these indigenous languages are currently used for various educational programmes and in broadcasts. Renaud and Zumafor (1977) note that the Cameroon languages already selected for broadcasting constitute important starting points in the current development of common alphabets. If the principle of only one provincial language per province were followed, one would need to identify only seven de facto provincial languages. However, while Ewondo and Fulfulde obviously function as de facto provincial languages for the south-central and northern

provinces respectively, both Duala and Bassa play the same roles in the littoral province. Similarly, both Fe fe and Banjun are de facto provincial languages in the western province, making a total of six languages for only four provinces. The status of de facto provincial languages is not clear in the other three provinces, although Bali has important educational functions in the northwestern province while Maka serves inter-ethnic communicative functions in the eastern province. Further observations are necessary to identify the prevailing language attitudes. If in one of these provinces, there are two de facto provincial languages, then there would be a total of 10 languages for the seven provinces.

However, each province has its own language use characteristics to be considered in attempting to identify the specific languages in the trilingual system. For example, in the littoral province, much of the population is from the western province, and might need a western provincial language as an alternate medium of instruction.

Finally, virtually any Cameroon language functions locally as a first language (L1) for its native speakers and is used daily at work. Each of them, therefore, must be considered as one alternate medium of instruction.

The proposed model suggests three varying and alternating media of instruction : one L1, one second African language (SAL), and one official (foreign) language (OL). Applied to Cameroon primary education and adult literacy, the model appears fully adequate, with the following necessary clarifications : in a given province, the de facto provincial language may be taught as a second Cameroon language (SCL) to the speakers of the other languages. If there are two functioning provincial languages, one may be taught as SCL to the speakers of the other, and each group of speakers of other languages in the province may choose which one of the two provincial languages they want to learn formally as SCL.

Elsewhere, all speakers of provincial languages may choose the language they want to learn as SCL. Thus, the three varying and alternating media of instruction are as follows :

L1 + SCL + O1

That is, a first language + a second Cameroon language + a first official language.

8.4. Application of the Model at the Provincial Level

An attempt is made here to apply the model developed in this study to two Cameroon provinces : the northern and western provinces.

8.4.1. The Northern Province

According to Santerre (1969), although the teaching of French and Arabic in the northern Koranic primary schools is not efficient, there seems to be no other alternative. Many ethnic, religious, and social conflicts prevent the integration of Fulfulde, the province's indigenous language of wider communication into the educational system. The Muslim population needs Arabic for religious purposes and maintains it in the Koranic primary schools where it is supported by the traditional Laamiibe aristocracy. The modern ruling elite needs French as a means of maintaining a higher socioeconomic status. Thus, the elite maintains French in all primary schools since their interests coincide with the official language policy. However, most of the Muslim population speak Fulfulde natively and it should be used as a medium of instruction in primary schools.

The integration of Fulfulde into the public school system would encounter strong opposition. First, for the new ruling elite, it would mean the reestablishment of the traditional social system ; i.e., the leadership of the Laamiibe, who were handicapped by their lack of knowledge of French at the time of

independence. Second, for the non-Muslim population, the Kirdis, who had resisted the Fulbe Islamic conquest in the 19th century and had retreated to the mountainous areas to preserve their religious and political autonomy, Fulfulde symbolizes Fulbe supremacy. Given this complicated situation, Santerre concludes that the official policy of teaching French and English is probably the most realistic solution.

However, the proposed trilingual model could yield an efficient alternative solution. The model could be adapted to the northern primary schools as follows :

In the Muslim community : (L1), Fulfulde, used as a primary medium of instruction in the early years ; (SCL), Arabic, used as a secondary medium ; (O1), French, used as an alternate primary medium at the upper level.

In the non-Muslim communities : (L1), the language spoken in the community of a given school ; (SCL), Fulfulde; (O1), French.

In a linguistically homogeneous school, L1 generally remains an alternate primary medium of instruction throughout the primary school, even if there are fewer materials available in it. The importance here is that the teacher uses L1 orally to explain whatever needs to be explained in it. There are Christian missionaries in the northern province who have already been developing some of the indigenous languages for religious and educational purposes, especially in the Kirdi communities. Also, many Kirdis learn Fulfulde for trade purposes.

8.4.2. The Western Province

It was noted earlier that in the western province, Fe' fe' and Banjun function competitively as de facto provincial languages. However, a high degree of friction has developed between the native speakers of the two languages. The conflict began in the late 1960s over radio broadcasts. Fe) fe) had been the principal broadcast medium but was replaced for political reasons by Banjun.

Since then, ill feeling has grown among the Bamilekes over the eventual selection of a provincial language. At the present time, an imposed provincial language, no matter which one, will hardly be accepted outside its area of origin; it would, moreover, be minimally learned, if at all, by adults of the other linguistic groups. It should be recalled that many linguistic groups in the province are deeply involved in developing and teaching their own languages.

The application of a trilingual model would most likely provide an acceptable alternative. The solution lies in teaching both Fe'fe' and Banjun as de facto provincial languages. As regards a second African language, Banjun speakers would be taught Fe'fe' and Fe fe speakers would, in turn, learn Banjun as L2. Speakers of other languages would choose either Fe'fe' or Banjun as L2. Expressed in the framework of the trilingual model, the three alternating media of instruction in the trilingual primary education system would be as follows :

Fe'fe' native speakers : (L1), Fe'fe'; (SCL), Banjun ; (O1), French. Banjun native speakers : (L1), Banjun ; (SCL), Fe'fe' ; (O1), French. Speakers of other languages in the province : (L1), the language spoken in the community of given primary school ; (SCL), Fe'fe' or Banjun ; (O1), French.

The educational uses of L1, SCL, and O1 would be as follows in the northern province : L1 as the primary medium of instruction in the early classes, SCL as a secondary medium, and O1 as an alternate primary medium in the upper classes.

These two provinces were chosen only for illustrative purposes. Although no detailed consideration was given to the other five provinces, the functional trilingual model could be adapted to their educational needs.

Moreover, the application of the model is feasible, especially in terms of material development and teacher training. However, these matters can only be broadly discussed at this point because further studies are needed for a clear cost estimate.

With respect to material development, sections 6.2 and 7.5.3. suggested bilingual educational leaflets and two standard bilingual handbooks for each indigenous language as the basic materials. Tentative cost estimates were also made with particular reference to Cameroon ; namely, approximately nine U.S. cents (see section 6.2) for the printing cost of one four-page issue of the leaflets, and US $ 3 as the purchase price of each handbook. In order to significantly minimize these costs, material development must be a cooperative effort jointly undertaken by neighbouring countries. In Cameroon, various local communities are involved in the development of their own languages. What is needed, therefore, is a governmental initiative to marshal both local and cooperative resources for the development of the necessary initial materials.

In terms of teacher training, Cameroon now has almost enough institutions for the training and retraining of primary school teachers. What is needed is a full development of the CERELTRA research programme on full utilization of the facilities of these institutions for functional multilingual (trilingual) education. The various institutions of the Office National de la Recherche Scientifique et Technique (ONAREST), in cooperation with the Department of African Languages and Linguistics of the University of Yaoundé, could help to develop the necessary materials and to train the personnel.

The crucial problem here is not whether Cameroon can afford the needed trilingual education, but whether it can fully utilize its available human resources. Given the current educational reform activities, a reasonable calculation of the overall cost requires special research. Such research would have to take into account the important factor of cost substitution, i.e., of covering parts of the cost with resources previously allocated to certain subjects in the curricula that are no longer relevant. Such subjects exist at all levels of the

educational system - for example, the teaching of two official languages in primary schools and the teaching of Latin, German, Spanish, French, and British cultures in secondary schools. However, this task is beyond the scope of language education planners and should be undertaken by the various educational sectors and authorities.

8.5. Conclusion

Perhaps the best way to conclude is by saying that no factor has been identified that would make the application of the trilingual model unacceptable in Cameroon.

Cameroon could oplay an important role in language education at the regional and continental levels. Six languages are most commonly used for inter-African communication : Arabic, English, French, Fulfulde, Hausa and Swahili. The first five of these are deeply rooted in Cameroon. It thus appears that as Cameroon solves its internal language problems, it will also develop language institutions that could be useful at the continental level.

One way of doing this would be to develop language teaching courses at the University of Yaoundé, with special provisions for teaching the six languages mentioned above. Another way would be to intensify cooperation with neighbouring countries in language teacher training, alphabet unification, and instructional materials development.

CHAPTER IX

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The present study has attempted to develop a comprehensive model for multilingual education planning in Africa. The need for such a model was prompted by the fact that current trends in language education reform in most countries show striking similarities with respect to various attempts to improve the continuous teaching of the foreign languages adopted by governments as official means of communication, to promote indigenous national language teaching programmes, to develop mother tongue education especially at the primary school level, and to expand adult literacy and post-literacy programmes.

A proposed model was shown to emerge from similar sociolinguistic factors (e.g., triglossic pattern of societal language use) and to involve an indigenous first language (L1), a second African (national) language (SAL), and an official (foreign) language (OL). Each of the languages was considered as a variable and an alternate medium of instruction at a particular educational level (e.g., primary vs. secondary level). The particular languages to be used as media of instruction can be specified for a given community, province, country, or geographic region. The model was shown to be functional in that the specific language skills to be developed in each language correspond to the predominant social functions of that language. This functionalism could best be achieved by teaching the subjects related to the functions of each language in that language. Primary education was the level at which the model could best be described and applied, but its significance for post-primary education and for informal adult education was also indicated.

It was also shown that the model is compatible with the general language planning efforts which, at the national level, among other things, attempt to reinforce national unity and promote national cultural integration and identity. This compatibility suggests that it can serve as a basis for formulating an acceptable functional trilingual education policy.

Regarding initial implementation planning, the model could serve as a unifying reference for establishing a balance among various complementary aspects of multilingual education and for evaluation. Efficient implementation planning would emphasize the development of L2 learning environments, peer group language learning and teaching, and both integrative and instrumental motivations for L2 and L3 learning. For methodological purposes, the notion of language education was clarified and that of functional L1 education further specified with due regard to the multiplicity of L1s in Africa. Emphasis was placed on the concept of primary, secondary, and tertiary media of instruction as opposed to that of language as a subject of instruction. Listening comprehension and speaking were presented as the initial focus of possible L2 and L3 programmes.

Model significance for large-scale literacy projects was discussed in detail. Various economic factors influencing its possible implementation were also examined, with a focus on the development of the language industry in Africa and the identification of cost-minimizing factors emphasizing the development of common cooperative language education resources. Finally, an attempt was made to show how the model could be applied specifically in Cameroon.

In conclusion, the adaptability of the proposed model to diverse but similar language situations and its compatibility with the basic L1 education needs of linguistic minority groups make it suitable for most African countries.

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